

THE
HISTORICAL WORKS
OF
FREDERICK SCHILLER.

FROM THE GERMAN,
BY GEORGE MOIR, Esq.
TRANSLATOR OF "WALLENSTEIN."

VOL. I.
THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

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THE LIFE
OF
FREDERICK SCHILLER.

FREDERICK SCHILLER was born at Marbach, a small town of Wirtemberg, on the 10th of November 1759. His father, John Caspar Schiller, had been a surgeon in the Bavarian army, and had served in the Netherlands during the war of the Succession. His mother, though of humble descent, is said to have been a woman of gentle and amiable manners, with a love for poetry and reading. Both appear to have been endowed with many virtues and unassuming good qualities, and calculated to impress upon the mind of the youthful poet lessons of morality and religion, both by precept and example.

There is little remarkable about the childhood of Schiller. His progress in learning

was by no means rapid, nor his habits of study very regular. With the thoughtlessness of his age, he was frequently disposed to exchange his books for boyish frolics, and to forget every thing in the amusement of the moment. Even then, however, an admiration for the grandeur of nature was visible in Schiller; and on one occasion, during a thunder-storm, he is said to have been found in a solitary place, in the neighbourhood of his father's house, seated on the branch of a tree, and watching with curiosity and delight the progress of the tempest.

Schiller's first inclinations were directed towards the Church; the natural devotion of his temper, and a certain shyness and timidity of which he was never entirely divested, seemed to harmonize with the duties of the sacred calling. But these views were altered by a circumstance which soon afterwards took place; namely, the establishment of a seminary at Stuttgart, into which the sons of military officers were to be admitted, by its founder the Duke of Wirtemberg. The Duke proposed to the father of Schiller that his son should profit by the opportunity, and with no inconsiderable reluctance, both on the part of father and son, Schiller was enrolled a member of the institution in 1773, and commenced the study of law.

The six years which he spent in this establishment seem to have been among the

most disagreeable of his life. For law he had the most decided dislike; and having, at last, ventured to state his conviction that Nature had never intended him for a jurist, he was permitted to exchange this obnoxious profession for one scarcely more consonant to his wishes—the study of medicine. During his residence at Stuttgart, however, his mind had gradually been expanding, by the study of literature, ancient and modern. Shakspeare, he says, he could not then relish. Acquainted with life only at second hand, the rude vigour and stern truth of his portraits of life appeared to him inconsistent with the ideal representations which he found reflected in his own imagination. But Klopstock, Lessing, Gerstenberg, Goethe and others, whose names adorn the dawn of German literature, he had studied with delight; and it was the strong impression produced upon his mind by the Ugolino of Gerstenberg, and the Goetz of Goethe, then in the zenith of their popularity, that seems first to have directed his attention and his wishes to the drama.

It was during this period that his first dramatic work, and that by which, until lately, his name is perhaps most known to English readers, the Robbers, was conceived and executed: and undoubtedly much of the peculiar and gloomy vigour of that composition is to be traced to the irritation induced by the vexatious and pedantic discipline of the

Stuttgart Academy, and the consciousness that his powers and efforts were wasted on a profession for which he was unfitted. Every thing indicates a mind in a state of tempest and fermentation; fiery and indomitable feelings, rendered more vehement by restraint; an imagination grand and imposing, but unregulated by taste, which is but another word for common sense and philosophical experience; ideas and expressions perpetually swelling into the gigantic; and dark and sombre views of life, where the mind, distracted by doubts and disappointment, takes refuge at last in a gloomy principle of fatalism. Yet, with all its faults, the appearance of this production, the work of a youth of eighteen years of age, almost forms an era in literature. It seizes on the mind with an irresistible grasp, and remains for ever associated with the most splendid specimens of a terrible dramatic interest. The recollection of the occasional bombast of thought and of style is swept from the mind by the full and majestic torrent of passion which pervades this tragedy, and the appalling interest of its progress and catastrophe.

Such at least was the impression produced in Germany by the appearance of this extraordinary play. Schiller had pursued his medical studies with sufficient assiduity to merit the usual honours, and had in 1780 obtained the post of surgeon to the Regi-

ment of Augé, in the Wirtemberg army. This promotion enabled him to print the play at his own expense, no bookseller being willing to undertake the risk. Its success was instantaneous and universal; its influence on the public mind of the most decided character. * Public attention now began to be directed to the author; but the vigour and originality which had thus arrested the curiosity of Germany, was little calculated to advance Schiller in the favour of the timid and calculating Duke of Wirtemberg; and accordingly, the poet soon received an official intimation, that his future efforts should be confined to medical subjects. He soon felt that he was a suspected character; he was believed to be a wild enthusiast; his actions were misconstrued; and every little error he committed immediately visited with the full measure of official severity. He continued, however, to exercise the humble duties of his situation, though under circumstances peculiarly vexatious and harassing to his sensitive mind, till October 1782; when, exasperated by the circumstance of his having been twice put under arrest for venturing to leave Stuttgart, and to witness the representation of his own play at Manheim, he suddenly adopted and carried into effect the resolu-

* The common stories of its immoral effects, are of course like the similar reports as to our own Beggars' Opera, entirely unfounded.

THE LIFE OF

tion of quitting Stuttgart and the service of the Grand Duke for ever. He went away, as he says himself, empty in purse and hope—with the world before him indeed, “where to choose,” but destitute of friends, patrons, or pecuniary means; of all in short which could render one spot in the wide solitude of life more desirable than another.

His first residence was in Franconia. Madame Von Wollzogen, whose sons had been fellow-students with Schiller at Stuttgart, had in his distress made him the offer of a home; and his pecuniary necessities were supplied by the kindness of the Baron Von Dalberg, superintendant of the theatre at Mannheim, with whom Schiller had formed an intimate acquaintance, arising at first out of literary discussions connected with the drama, but gradually confirmed, and elevated into friendship by a more familiar intercourse of sentiment and opinion. In this quiet residence, Schiller resumed with ardour his poetical studies. A year had scarce elapsed since his leaving Stuttgart before he gave to the world two other tragedies in prose, his Conspiracy of Fiesco, and his Cabal and Love.

With the appearance of these two pieces, the first period of Schiller's literary life may be said to close. Though differing from the Robbers in some respects, displaying a deeper and more extensive knowledge of human nature, and a taste which was gra-

dually exchanging the colossal and shadowy creations of imagination, for the less imposing, but more distinct and intelligible portraits of reality, they are still more closely related to his first production than to those by which they were succeeded. A rude sublimity, and unbending strength, both in the sentiment and the character of the incidents; an over-anxiety to heighten the dramatic impression by the exhibition of startling contrasts, a melo-dramatic tendency is visible in all his earlier tragedies. When Schiller next reappeared upon the stage, he trod the scene with a less sounding but a firmer step; and as he had exchanged the wild license allowed by prose, for the salutary restraint of versification, so, in his dramatic views, he had learned to distinguish accurately the province of imagination, and to reduce his conceptions to the standard of reality and life.

The popularity of these tragedies, and the interest of his friend Dalberg, now procured for Schiller a situation which had long been the object of his wishes, and which promised to secure him in future against those misfortunes and vexations which had clouded the morning of his youth. In September 1783, he went to Mannheim, as poet to the theatre,—a post of respectability and profit. He was soon afterwards elected a member of the German Society there; and happy in the duties of his situation and his inter-

course with literary men, and safe from the petty tyranny of the Duke of Wirtemberg, he was now enabled to gratify the wish of his heart, and to devote himself to study and literature. A variety of projects now engaged his attention. A second part of the *Robbers*, and another dramatic piece, appear to have been begun, but abandoned. A literary journal, however, entitled the *Thalia*, devoted principally to the drama, appeared with success in 1785, and was continued down to 1794. The first number was enriched by the three first acts of the *Don Carlos*, a work in which he had for some time been assiduously engaged, and with regard to which, he wished to ascertain the public opinion by the publication of this specimen. To this period of Schiller's life, too, we are indebted for the *Philosophical Letters*,—compositions of considerable power and eloquence, and conversant with speculations on the deep, important, and mysterious subjects of life, death, immortality, providence, and the freedom of the will. Schiller was no sceptic; on the contrary, never did any one possess a deeper and holier sense of religion, or vindicate his belief more fully by the tenor of his practice; but across his mind, like that of other great and good men, doubts would occasionally steal, and difficulties and perplexities arise in contemplating the enigma of human life. These mental waverings are

strikingly imaged forth in these letters, in which, under the names of Julius and Raphael, the vacillations of his own mind seem to be embodied. The great work, however, of this period, is the *Don Carlos*, which was published in 1786.

Every thing in this remarkable play announced a mind which had reached its maturity,—which might still adopt new views as to the most effective principle of dramatic impression, but which would now carry into every system it might adopt, a refined taste, a comprehensive knowledge of life, and a superior acquaintance with the mechanical part of composition. This great historical picture for the hint of which he had been indebted to the novel of the Abbe St Real, but which he had corrected and filled up by the most careful study, both of the historians of the time, and of the best dramatic models, exhibits in still greater perfection one of those merits which are visible in *Fresco*, the successful painting of the manners of the time, and the happy adjustment of the subordinate agents and details to the more passionate scenes, and more important personages of the drama. The rigid coldness of the Spanish Court; the pride, pomp, and artifice of its *grandees*,—above all, the sombre and gloomy spirit of Philip, stern, superstitious, jealous, relentless, yet commanding our awe even while he awakens our dislike, or repels our

sympathy, are admirably drawn. In strong contrast to the monarch stands the hapless Prince of Spain; the passionate though hopeless lover, the devoted friend, the defender of liberty, whose views had been expanded by a wider and more liberal policy than the mind of Philip could embrace or understand; and the still more eloquent enthusiasm of Posa, an imaginary being, a citizen, as he says himself, of centuries then to come, but whose fiery energy of sentiment and expression hurries the reader along with it, and certainly exercises over his mind that temporary fascination which it is represented as effecting on that of Philip. Around these three personages and the amiable Queen, are gathered, with great skill, the subordinate groups of Alba and his Dominican confederate Domingo, Lerma, the Grand Inquisitor, and the train of Spanish nobles which fill up the back ground of the piece. In our opinion, the greatest blemish in this noble play is the character of the Princess Eboli, a personage with whose feelings it is impossible to sympathize, and whose motives of action it is extremely difficult to understand.

Many of his beautiful little ballads, such as "The Walk," "The Song of the Bell," "The Toggenburg," &c., appeared nearly about the same time, as well as the romance of the Ghost Seer, a subject which had probably been suggested to him by the exploits

of the notorious Count Cagliostro, who was then displaying his wonders in Paris. The views of Schiller, however, in this romance appear to have been mistaken, his design being generally supposed to be merely that of writing an ordinary tale of wonder and horror: the poet had deeper views, and accordingly, finding that he had failed to produce the effect he had intended, he abandoned the fragment.

Perhaps some feeling of weariness now induced him for a time to exchange fictitious writing for the study and composition of history. For this task he possessed many of the most essential requisites; patience of investigation, a boundless and sincere regard for truth, feelings lofty and liberal, great power of clear and accurate description, and that spirit of order and concentration which enables the historian, out of the vast mass of details, to select the leading links in the chain of human affairs, and to place the minor incidents in their due distance and relation to these more important occurrences. The first subject to which the historical labours of Schiller were devoted, was the History of the Revolt of the Netherlands from the Spanish Government; a subject to which his attention had been turned during the composition of the *Don Carlos*, and the first volume of which appeared in 1788. It was a work well calcu-

lated to justify the high expectatations which had been formed of it. A patient study of the original sources of information to be found in Strada, De Thou, Grotius, and other contemporary historians, gave copiousness and fidelity to the narrative; his own clear and comprehensive views enabled him to disentangle the perplexities of the numerous incidents of this war, and to exhibit them to the eye in groups, where the subsidiary facts were gathered round the more striking and prominent events, and thus fixed in the memory more firmly by this relation; while the glowing eloquence of the style, the lofty spirit of liberty, the wide and cosmopolitan sympathies which this history displays, gave to it a source of interest which mere research or fidelity of narrative never could bestow. Had it been completed it would in all probability have been the finest of Schiller's historical compositions. But the second volume never appeared, and the work concludes with the entrance of the Duke of Alba into Brussels. The fragments of the trial of Counts Egmont and Horn, and the siege of Antwerp by the Prince of Parma, which would have formed part of the remainder of the History, are masterly specimens of description, and the latter in particular will suffer nothing by a comparison with any portion of historical narrative either ancient or modern.

Fortune now appeared disposed to smile on Schiller. His history had conferred on him the highest literary reputation; and the general impression entertained of his talents, seconded by the application of Goethe, with whom Schiller had, after some reserve and coldness at first, become intimately acquainted, * procured for him the chair of history in the University of Jena. His marriage soon after followed; and now in the possession of competency, and in the society of an amiable wife, the gloomy views which he had entertained in his early career were dispelled. "Life," says he, in writing to a friend about this time, "Life is quite a different thing by the side of a beloved wife, than so forsaken and alone:—even in summer. Beautiful nature! I now for the first time fully enjoy it, live in it. The world again clothes itself around me in poetic forms; old feelings are again awakening in my breast. My existence is settled in harmonious composure, not strained and impassioned, but peaceful and clear. I look to my future destiny with a cheerful heart; now when standing at the wished for goal, I wonder with myself how it has all happened so far beyond my expectations."

The duties of his new office naturally called upon Schiller to devote himself with zeal to the study of history. His academical lectures, we believe, were delivered from

* Vid. Appendix, II.

notes, and not committed to writing; but judging from the introductory lecture on Universal History, and the views with which it ought to be studied, his plan was of the most splendid, comprehensive, and philosophical nature. At home he was occupied with his History of the Thirty Years' War.

This work, which appeared in 1791, is considered by the German critics as his chief performance in this department of literature. The subject was one of the most varied and general interest, not German merely, but European; conversant with incidents and characters the most striking and contrasted, with the strangest revolutions of government and opinion, and with the most instructive lessons of political science. Never, perhaps, at any period were men's minds in a state of such violent and tempestuous excitement, or the common interests of states, which lead nations to warfare and bloodshed, heightened by so much of personal and individual feeling on the part of the combatants. The contest of the two religions which have then and since divided Europe, gradually terminating in the establishment of a general peace, and the recognition of the balance of power; the long and wavering series of events by which this great object was at last accomplished; the character of the actors, in which the darkest traits of the human mind are occasionally contrasted with the noblest and purest ex-

hibitions of human virtue—all these afford materials the most extensive and magnificent for the pen of the historian. To many, however, it may appear, that Schiller has somewhat impaired the interest of his subject, by confining himself too closely to the philosophical aspect of the period, and passing too lightly over the many individual incidents of deep interest, which would have afforded such scope for his powers of picturesque description. What he could have done in this way is evident, by some specimens which he has afforded us in the present work ; the siege and storming of Magdeburg, the graphic portraits of Tilly and Wallenstein, the passage of the Lech, and, above all, the battle of Lutzen, which has all the wild vigour and terrible effect of *Salvator*, induce us to regret, that in his anxiety to generalize, and to deduce moral and political conclusions from those moving accidents by flood and field which diversify this great historical tableau, he has frequently passed too lightly over those details which give individuality to the incidents, and form, as it were, points *d'appui* to fix the train of events in the memory. Occasionally, too, it may appear, that in the History of the 'Thirty Years' War, the imagery with which the style is studded, savours somewhat too much of the poet and too little of the gravity of the historian, though in this respect the work is less objectionable than the *Revolt*

of the Netherlands. On the whole, however, the work is a magnificent monument of Schiller's historical powers, and will always be justly regarded as the most classical performance which has yet appeared in this department of literature in Germany. *

But in the midst of these laborious studies, Schiller was overtaken by the hand of sickness, and his numerous projects for a time suspended. His disorder, which had its seat in the chest, was violent and threatening, and though nature overcame it in the present instance, the blessing of entire health never more returned to him. In all probability, this disease was owing to the exhaustion produced in a frame never very robust, by the agitation of thought, and the habits of nocturnal study in which he had indulged. He was now, for a time, strictly prohibited from every intellectual exertion, —a prohibition against which his own inclinations and his domestic circumstances equally rebelled. Yet even in this painful situation, his firmness and energy of mind did not abandon him. Fortunately the pecuniary embarrassments resulting from his long illness, were delicately and unexpectedly removed by a pension conferred upon him by the reigning Duke of Holstein Augustenberg, jointly with Count Schimmelmann.

* The subject has been since continued in a work by Woltmann of Berlin, entitled the *History of the Peace of Munster*.

The only stipulation annexed to the gift, was the injunction to be careful of his health.

The mind of Schiller was too elastic to be long bent down even by the pressure of sickness. No sooner was he partially free from pain than he resumed his labours, his attention being now diligently devoted to the Philosophical System of Kant, which had for ten years before been gradually extending its influence over Germany. This is not the place for a discussion, either of the merits of the system itself, or for an investigation of the precise progress made by Schiller in the Transcendental Philosophy; thus much only appears from his works, that his attention was devoted, not so much to the metaphysical and logical parts of the system, as to that branch which regards the principles of the imitative arts and their moral influence; what in the nomenclature of the system is styled *Æsthetics*, or the doctrine of Sentiment and Emotion. On these subjects he has left a variety of essays more or less elaborate; but all distinguished by an acute intellect, a grand and lofty tone of sentiment, and a style capable of giving beauty and interest to any subject however barren and intractable.

It was at this period of Schiller's life, when his vast natural powers had been expanded, his errors corrected, his principles of taste purified by a comprehensive ac-

quaintance with nature, and the great models of other ages and nations, that the idea of his greatest work, the Drama of Wallenstein, suggested itself to him. As the historical researches in which he had been engaged, in the composition of Don Carlos, had directed his attention to the History of the Netherlands; so his labours in the composition of his History of the Thirty Years' War, in turn suggested to him the materials of a dramatic poem. At one time he had thought of an epic poem, of which Gustavus Adolphus was to have been the hero; but this design was afterwards, (in all probability fortunately) abandoned for the subject of Wallenstein. Among the remarkable men who figured in that contest, Gustavus and Wallenstein are the two personages that divide the interest of the reader, as they did the fortunes of the war; and the character of Wallenstein in particular, strange, mysterious, and imperfectly known in its details, but commanding and vast in its general outlines, appeared to him singularly well adapted to the purposes of dramatic representation. But the plan of Schiller in this play, was not limited to the developement of a single character. His object was to present a broad and splendid picture of society, as it had been influenced by warfare, religious controversy, military despotism and ambition; to blend all that was or could be rendered dramatic and

poetical in the Thirty Years War, and to present these general views and picturesque combinations, in connection with the striking individual character of Wallenstein, in the shadowy and almost unexplored recesses of which his imagination would have full scope for its creative powers, while the general outlines supplied by history, insured that degree of reality and resemblance in the delineation, which appeared to him to be best adapted to the purposes of dramatic illusion.

The extent of a single drama was soon found to be altogether insufficient for this purpose, and the crowd of ideas and pictures which multiplied upon him expanded themselves at last into a cyclus of dramas, or dramatic poem in three parts, viz. the Camp of Wallenstein—the Piccolomini—and the Death of Wallenstein. The Camp forms merely an overture to the others; exhibiting a picture of that discordant horde, who, under Wallenstein were encamped in the plains of Pilsen; the rude license, the jollity, recklessness, and vices of the Camp; giving slight glimpses of the intrigues of the officers, the character of Wallenstein and his leaders, and preparing the mind to harmonize with the scenes that follow. The Piccolomini is also in some measure introductory; containing no complete plot in itself, but displaying the progress of

those events which are brought to a tragic catastrophe in the death of Wallenstein. The chief interest of this part of the drama consists in the episode of Max and Thekla, whose story of love is interwoven with these displays of military despotism and political intrigue, and by which the tragedy is exalted above the level of mere every-day nature into the loftier sphere of the ideal and the romantic. Nothing, however, can excel the management of the last part of the drama, the Death of Wallenstein. The interest deepens gradually to the end; the poetical fire which illuminates only with occasional flashes the more prosaic scenes of the Piccolomini grows brighter and more concentrated, as events hurry to their close. No scene in the compass of the drama, as Coleridge justly observes, excels the last act of Wallenstein, and particularly the dialogue with his sister, which precedes his murder. A solemn and dreary gloom invests the whole, which weighs upon the mind, and fills it with mournful and superstitious presentiments of evil. On this great work, which is justly considered the masterpiece of the German drama, Schiller was engaged for about seven years.

Soon after the publication of Wallenstein, Schiller once more changed his abode. The mountain air of Jena was conceived by his physicians to be prejudicial in disorders of the lungs, and partly in consequence of this

opinion, he determined to spend his winters in Weimar, though he still continued to pass the summers at Jena. Perhaps one additional reason for the change was, the opportunity it gave him of being near the theatre, of which he was now a very constant attendant.

In conjunction with Goethe, with whom he now spent much of his time, he remodelled his *Don Carlos*, and his friend's *Count Egmont*, while he was at the same time engaged in the composition of his *Mary Stuart*. Compared with his *Wallenstein*, this tragedy is one of limited interest, and inferior power. On one, who had not yet attained the high rank which Schiller held in literature, it would have conferred the highest reputation; but it could confer no additional lustre on the author of *Wallenstein*. Yet it does not detract from that reputation; its object was more common, its scope more limited, but that purpose, in so far as it could be accomplished, has been attained.

But his next effort was on a subject more completely his own, and more congenial to his feelings. In 1801, appeared his *Maid of Orleans*, the finest of his dramas after *Wallenstein*, and perhaps to some minds more pleasing than even that great work. More uniformly imaginative and poetical, if less perfect as a dramatic whole—more rapid and striking in the movement of its incidents, with a character which borders in

some measure on the melo-dramatic, it is calculated more completely to engage the sympathies of the young and the enthusiastic, than even its more measured and philosophical predecessor. Joanna herself is a character which it would be difficult in any hands to render uninteresting; she is the perfection of religious enthusiasm and self-devotion, and whether under the influence of that supernatural confidence, which led her to believe herself the chosen instrument of heaven, or labouring under the fearful consciousness that she had been forsaken by that power, as having violated the conditions on which her more than mortal gifts had been conferred upon her, she equally engages our admiration, our sympathy and sorrow.

In Germany the reception of this piece was flattering beyond example. At the first exhibition of the play in Leipzig, Schiller being in the theatre, though not among the audience, the feeling of the house was displayed in a singular manner. When the curtain dropped at the end of the first act, there arose on all sides a shout of "Long live Frederick Schiller." At the conclusion of the piece the whole assembly left their places, went out and crowded round the door through which the poet was expected to come, and no sooner did he show himself, than the admiring spectators uncovering their heads, made an avenue for

him to pass; and as he walked away, many, we are told held up their children, exclaiming "That is he!"

His way of life at Weimar very much resembled his former habits at Jena: his business was to study and compose, his recreations were in the circle of his family, and in frank and cheerful intercourse with a few friends, with whom he had formed a social club, the meetings of which afforded him a regular and innocent amusement. He still loved solitary walks; and might frequently be seen wandering among the groves and avenues of the park at Weimar, with a note-book in his hand; loitering, standing, or moving rapidly on by starts; and darting into another alley, if any passenger broke upon his reveries. "One of his favourite resorts was the thickly overshadowed rocky path which leads to the Römische Haus, a pleasure house of the Duke's, built under the direction of Goethe. There he would often sit in the gloom of the crags overgrown with cypresses and boxwood; shady hedges before him, not far from the murmur of a little brook which there gushes in a smooth slaty channel, and where some verses of Goethe are cut upon a brown plate of stone, and fixed in the rock." The evil habit of nocturnal study, the effects of which were increased by the stimulants to exertion which he found it necessary to use, was pursued

at Weimar as at Jena: the morning was spent with his children, his wife, or his friends; his afternoons were devoted to the transaction of business, or correspondence; his evenings were frequently passed in the theatre, which was the only place of public amusement he ever visited.

Ever actively endeavouring to explore the principles of dramatic art, Schiller now ventured upon an experimental imitation of the Greek drama in his *Bride of Messina*, which appeared in 1803. The interest of the piece, like those of the ancient stage, and many of the more modern productions of Germany, rests upon the principle of fatalism, and the chorus of the Greek drama, though with some difference in the management, is introduced. The success of a piece of this nature in actual representation, could not be great. The human and personal interest of the piece is retarded and dissipated by the long though beautiful and impressive moral reflections, of which the chorus forms the organ; the action flags, the interest pauses; still the exquisite specimens of lyric poetry with which it abounds, the pathetic tenderness with which many portions of it are imbued, the maxims of morality and wisdom with which it is interspersed; all combine to place this tragedy high in the rank of modern compositions. On these accounts the *Bride of Messina* will always deserve an attentive perusal; though as ex-

emplifying a new form of the drama, it has found no imitators, and is likely to find none,

But if the success of the *Bride of Messina* was doubtful, that of his next and last dramatic production, the *William Tell*, made ample demands for this comparative failure. The great merit of this work is the utter absence of all that tinsel and false refinement, with which men of inferior talents have been accustomed to invest the deliverer of Switzerland. In Schiller's play, we feel ourselves at once among the mountains and the peasantry of Switzerland. Lake, mountain, and valley, the face of nature itself, and the beings who inhabit these scenes, are all traced with that homely and graphic truth which gives assurance of reality. In *Tell himself*, we see the elements of greatness without the help of education, or of great occasions to develope them. Simple, unpretending, fearless; led on to action, not by any far-seeing or connected plan, but compelled to become the avenger of his country's freedom, in order to save his own existence and that of those who are nearest and dearest to him, he is no wordy reformer, no dealer in sounding apostrophes to liberty; he has enjoyed it too constantly to talk of it; he exhibits his feelings only in his actions. The chief fault of the play, is the want of unity of interest, and the bad arrangement of the fifth act, which, after the

death of Gessler, is felt to be an incumbrance.

Never, perhaps, had the intellect of Schiller been more vigorous than at this period. What had he not already done in literature, when every new composition was an experiment in some new branch of literature, or the discovery of some new principle in the old ! What might he not be still expected to do in that space of life which, according to ordinary calculation, might yet remain to him ! But the career of this great and good man was hastening to a close. In 1804, having been at Berlin witnessing the exhibition of his *William Tell*, he was seized, while returning, with an attack of that malady, from which, for many years, he had never been entirely free. The attack was violent, but he appeared partially to have recovered, so much so, as to resume his ordinary exertions and studies. He had sketched a tragedy on the subject of *Perkin Warbeck*, and another on that of a similar impostor, the false *Demetrius of Russia*. But with the spring of 1805, which came in, cold and stormy, Schiller's sickness returned. His disorder kept increasing, till, on the 9th of May, it reached a crisis. Early on the morning of that day he became delirious, but towards noon the paroxysm abated, and he fell into a sound sleep. The spirit of Schiller was once more to look forth with serenity before it passed away for

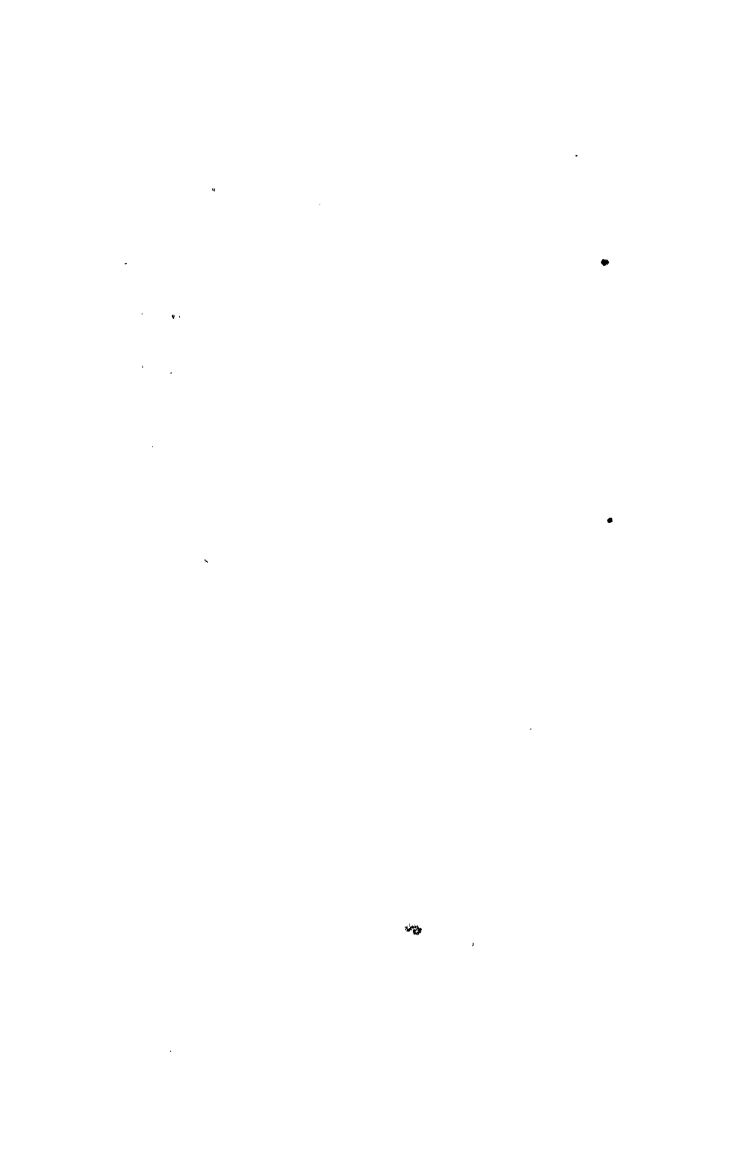
ever. He took a touching, but tranquil farewell of his friends, and gave directions for his funeral. Some one inquiring how he felt, he said, "Calmer and calmer." Soon after he sank into a slumber, which gradually deepened into the sleep of death.

His age was forty-five years and some months when he died. He left a widow, two sons, and two daughters.

In this hasty sketch of this literary life of Schiller, we have been unable to touch on the habits of his domestic life or the character of the man. The lives of literary men in general afford little materials for narrative, independently of their works, nor does that of Schiller form an exception. The labours and difficulties with which he had to contend, were those of art and science; his wanderings were not from clime to clime, but over the province of imagination. But if the union of the great and good, of lofty principle, and almost patriarchal purity and simplicity of character, with the noblest gifts of intellect, be, as it ought to be a proud and consoling spectacle, (the more especially in these latter times, when genius and principle have been so often dissociated), the character of Schiller is worthy of the deepest and most attentive study. Some few specimens of his correspondence will be found in the Appendix. But the life of Schiller is imaged forth in his works; the purity, tenderness, and honourable feeling of

the poet, are reflected in every page of his writings. In the midst of pain and disappointment, contending with many of those evils from which humanity is seldom exempted, and with some sources of affliction peculiar to himself, Schiller never ceases to act and to feel as becomes a man of genius, a man of honour, and a Christian. "On the whole," says Mr Carlyle, in his admirable Life of Schiller, a work to which we have been largely indebted, and in our opinion, the ablest piece of biographical criticism which this century has produced. "On the whole, we may pronounce him happy. His days passed in the contemplation of ideal grandeurs; he lived among the glories and solemnities of universal Nature; his thoughts were of sages and heroes, and scenes of elysian beauty. It is true, he had no rest, no peace; but he enjoyed the fiery consciousness of his own activity, which stands in place of it for men like him. It is true, he was long sickly: but did he not even then conceive and body forth Max Piccolomini, and Thekla, and the Maid of Orleans, and the Scenes of William Tell? It is true, he died early; but the student will exclaim with Charles XII. in another case, 'was it not enough of life, when he had conquered kingdoms?' These kingdoms which Schiller conquered were not for one nation at the expense of suffering to another; they were soiled by no patriot's

blood, no widow's, no orphan's tear; they are kingdoms conquered from the barren realms of darkness, to increase the happiness, and dignity, and power of all men; new forms of truth, new maxims of wisdom, new images and scenes of beauty, 'won from the void and formless infinite;' a possession for ever to all the generations of the earth."



HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS WAR.

BOOK I.

FROM the commencement of the religious war in Germany until the peace of Westphalia, scarcely any great or remarkable event took place in the political world of Europe, in which the Reformation had not the principal share. All the general occurrences of this period are connected with the Reformation, if not directly derived from it; and all states, of whatever limits, have more or less, mediately or immediately, experienced its influence.

The House of Austria directed almost the whole energies of its gigantic power against the new doctrines and their adherents. The Reformation had kindled that Civil War, which, under four tempestuous reigns, shook France to its foundations, introduced foreign arms into the heart of that kingdom, and rendered it for half a century a scene of the most melancholy devastation. It was the

Reformation which had made the Spanish yoke intolerable to the Flemings, and excited in that people, the wish and the courage to break their bonds, while it principally supplied them with the strength which enabled them to succeed. All the evils which Philip the Second meditated against Queen Elizabeth of England, were projected in revenge against her for having taken under her protection his Protestant subjects, and placed herself at the head of a religious party, which it was his object to annihilate. The division of the Church in Germany, was followed by a lasting political separation, which, for more than a century, rendered that country a scene of confusion, but which at the same time erected a permanent barrier in future against political oppression. It was the Reformation chiefly which first incorporated the Northern powers, Denmark and Sweden, with the general system of Europe; and strengthened the Protestant league by their assistance, while this alliance in turn was indispensable to them. States which formerly had scarcely an existence for each other, came, through the Reformation, to acquire an important point of mutual contact, and to be connected by new sympathies; and as, under the influence of the Reformation, new relations arose between citizen and citizen, between prince and people, so, whole states were also placed in new relations to each other; and thus, by a strange course of circumstances, religious dissensions became the means of cementing a closer union among the states of Europe.

Fearful and destructive indeed was the first movement in which this general political sympathy was manifested—a desolating Thirty Years' War; which,

from the interior of Bohemia to the mouth of the Scheldt, and from the banks of the Po to the shores of the Baltic, depopulated countries, destroyed harvests, and laid towns and villages in ashes ; a war in which more than three hundred thousand combatants found a grave, which extinguished for half a century the awakening sparks of civilization in Germany, and reduced the improving manners of the country to their ancient wildness and barbarism. Yet Europe rose free and independent from this fearful war, in which it first recognised its constitution as a community of connected powers ; and the perception of this mutual interest and dependency of its states, which owes its origin to this war, would in itself be sufficient to console the philanthropist for the miseries which it caused. The hand of industry has insensibly effaced the traces of its ravages, while its beneficent influence still survives ; and this general sympathy among the States of Europe, which arose from the troubles in Bohemia, is our guarantee for the permanence of that peace, which was the result of the war. And as the flame of devastation kindled in the interior of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria, spread its ravages over Germany, France, and the half of Europe, so will the beams of civilization be reflected back from these States, to enlighten those darker and remoter territories.

All this was effected by religion, through which alone the circumstances could have been rendered possible, though it was far from being the sole motive of the war. Had it not been closely linked with private advantages, and State interests, the arguments of theologians and the voice of the peo-

ple would never have met with princes so willing to espouse their cause, nor the new doctrines have found so numerous, so brave, and so obstinate champions. A great part of the Reformation is undoubtedly owing to the invincible strength of truth, or of opinions which were entertained as such. The abuses in the Old Church, the absurdity of many of its doctrines, the extravagance of its demands, necessarily excited the tempers of men, already delighted with the appearance of a better light, and inclined them to the reception of the new doctrines. The desire of independence the rich plunder of monastic institutions, gave charms to the Reformation in the eyes of princes, and strengthened not a little their inward conviction of its necessity. But considerations of state policy alone, could have *compelled* them to espouse it. Had not Charles the Fifth, in the intoxication of success, made an attempt on the political freedom of the German States, a Protestant league would scarcely have taken up arms in defence of freedom of belief: But for the ambition of the Guises, the Calvinists in France would never have seen at their head a Condé or a Coligny: Without the imposition of tenth and twentieth pennies, the See of Rome had never lost the United Netherlands. Princes contended in self-defence for their own aggrandisement, while religious enthusiasm recruited their armies, and opened to them the treasures of their subjects: and the multitude who followed their standards, were either allured by the hope of plunder, or animated by the belief that they shed their blood for the truth, though it was in reality poured for the interest of their princes.

And well it was for the people that, on this occasion, their own interest coincided with that of their rulers, for to this circumstance alone they were indebted for their deliverance from Popery. Well it was for the rulers that the subject contended for his own cause while he combated for theirs ! Fortunately during this period, no sovereign in Europe was so absolute as to enable him to dispense with the approbation of his subjects in the pursuit of his political enterprises. Yet how difficult was it to gain this approbation, and to set in motion this powerful principle ! The most urgent and convincing arguments drawn from reasons of state, fall coldly on the mind of the subject, who seldom understands, and is still more rarely interested by them. In such circumstances, a prudent prince has no other course left, but to connect the interests of the cabinet with some other interest more analogous to that of the people, if such exists, or, if not, to create it.

Such was the situation in which the greater part of those princes who espoused the cause of the Reformation was placed. By a singular chain of events, the division of the church was united with two circumstances, without which, the conclusion of the contest would probably have been very different—the increasing preponderance of the House of Austria, which threatened the freedom of Europe, and the active zeal of this House for the old religion. The first aroused the princes, while the second armed the people.

The abolition of a foreign tribunal within their own territories, supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, the stoppage of that current of treasure which was drawn off towards Rome, the rich plunder of ecclesi-

astical institutions, were advantages which must have been equally tempting to every sovereign; and it may be asked why they did not operate with equal force upon the princes of the House of Austria? What prevented this House, particularly its German line, from yielding to the pressing demands of so many of its subjects, and enriching itself after the example of others at the expense of a defenceless clergy? It is difficult to believe that the conviction of the infallibility of the Romish Church, had any greater influence in producing the steadfast perseverance of this House, than the contrary persuasion had in the revolt of the Protestant Princes. But several circumstances united to incline the Austrian Princes to the support of Popery. Spain and Italy, the countries from which the power of Austria derived its principal support, were still devoted to the see of Rome with that blind dependence which had been the peculiar characteristic of the Spaniards since the Gothic dynasty. The slightest approach to the obnoxious tenets of Luther and Calvin, would have irrecoverably alienated from a Spanish prince the affections of his subjects, and a defection from the Pope would have been followed by the loss of the throne. He had no choice left between orthodoxy and abdication. He laboured under the same restraint with regard to her Italian dominions, which he was obliged to treat with more indulgence if possible than even his Spanish subjects, impatient as they naturally were of a foreign yoke, and possessing the means of ridding themselves of it so easily. To these were added the rival pretensions of France to these states, and the neighbourhood of the Pope, motives sufficient to prevent him

from declaring in favour of a party which strove to annihilate the importance of the Popedom, and to induce to exert himself with the most zealous activity in behalf of the old religion. These general considerations, which must have weighed equally with every Spanish monarch, were still further strengthened by motives peculiar to the individual. Charles V. had in Italy a dangerous rival in the King of France, under whose protection that country might throw itself, the instant that Charles incurred the suspicion of heresy. Distrust on the part of the Catholics, and a rupture with the Church, would have been fatal to the execution of those designs which he had most at heart. When Charles was called upon to choose between the two parties, the new doctrines had not yet acquired their full importance and influence; and there still remained some prospect of a reconciliation between the two churches. In his son and successor Philip the Second, a monastic education united with a gloomy and despotic character, to generate an irreconcilable hatred to all innovations in religion; a feeling which the consideration that his most formidable political enemies were at the same time the enemies of his faith was not calculated to weaken. As his European dominions scattered over so many countries lay open on all sides to the influence of foreign opinions, the progress of the Reformation in other quarters could not be an object of indifference to him; and his immediate interests called upon him to attach himself entirely to the old church, in order to put a stop to the farther advance of the contagion of heresy. Thus, circumstances naturally placed this prince at the head of the Catholic faith, and of the alliance formed by

the Catholics against the Reformers. The principles which had been adopted during the long and active reigns of Charles V. and Philip the Second, were implicitly recognised by their successors ; and in proportion as the breach in the Church was widened, the attachment of the Spaniards to Catholicism was cemented and confirmed.

The German line of the House of Austria appeared more unfettered : but, though freed from many of these obstacles, they were bound by others. The possession of the Imperial throne—a dignity which could be held by no Protestant, (for with what consistency could an apostate from the Romish church wear the crown of a Roman Emperor ?) bound the successors of Ferdinand I. to the see of Rome. Ferdinand himself was heartily attached to it from conscientious motives. The German princes of the House of Austria were besides not sufficiently powerful to dispense with the support of Spain, from which they would at once have been excluded by any leaning towards the new doctrines. The dignity which they held, also required them to maintain the political system of Germany, with which the maintenance of their own imperial authority was connected, and which it was the object of the Protestant League to destroy. If we add to these the indifference of the Protestants towards the wants of the Emperor, and the common dangers of the empire, their forcible encroachments on the temporalities of the Church, and their violence when they felt their own strength, we can easily perceive how many concurring motives must have determined the Emperors to the side of Popery, and how their own interests came to be so closely interwoven with those of the Catholic faith. As

the fate of this religion seemed to depend entirely on the part taken by the House of Austria, the princes of this house were regarded by all Europe as the pillars of Popery. The hatred of the Protestants against the latter was universally directed against Austria; and the Protector became gradually, but inseparably, confounded with the cause which he protected.

But the liberties of Europe, and particularly of the German States, were at the same time not a little endangered by the ambitious projects of this House of Austria, the inveterate enemy of the Reformation, supported as they were by overwhelming political strength. This circumstance must have roused the latter from their security, and rendered them attentive to their self-defence. Their ordinary resources were altogether inadequate to enable them to contend against so formidable a power. Extraordinary exertions must be required from their subjects; and when even these were found insufficient, they were constrained to have recourse to foreign assistance; and, by means of a confederacy, endeavour to oppose a power which they were singly unable to resist.

But the strongest political inducements which inclined the Sovereigns to oppose the pretensions of the House of Austria, extended not to their subjects. Immediate advantages, or immediate evils, are the springs by which the people is animated to action: and a sound policy cannot wait till these arise. How hard would it thus have been for these Princes if another powerful motive had not existed to arouse the passions of the people, and direct the energies of that enthusiasm which it in-

spired, against these political dangers, which were to be dreaded from the objects of its excitement? This motive was their declared hatred against the religion which the House of Austria protected; and their enthusiastic attachment to a doctrine which that house was endeavouring to extirpate by fire and sword. This attachment was ardent; that hatred invincible. Religious fanaticism fears even distant calamities. Enthusiasm never calculates the amount of its sacrifices. The stimulus which the most pressing danger of the State had been unable to afford, was furnished by religious inspiration; few would have voluntarily armed in defence of the Sovereign or the State; but for religion, the merchant, the artisan, the peasant, flew to arms at once. They would have murmured at the smallest additional imposition on behalf of the Prince or the State; but in the cause of religion they willingly embarked their lives, their fortunes, and all their earthly hopes. It trebled the sums which flowed into the treasures of princes, the armies which marched to the field; and, in the ferment which was excited in all minds by the dangers which threatened their faith, the subject felt not the weight of those burdens and privations, under which, in cooler moments, he would have sunk exhausted. The dread of the Spanish Inquisition, and the remembrance of the massacre of St Bartholomew, opened up to the Prince of Orange, the Admiral Coligni, the British Queen Elizabeth, and the Protestant Princes of Germany, resources among their subjects, to an extent which at present is inconceivable.

But, with all their exertions, they would have effected little against a power which was an over-

match for any individual potentate, how powerful soever. At that period of imperfect policy, chance events alone could determine distant States to their mutual succour. The differences of government, of laws, of language, of manners, and of character, which separated nations and countries into so many insulated wholes, and reared up a lasting wall of partition between them, rendered one State insensible to the distresses of another, save where national jealousy prompted it to indulge in a malicious joy at the reverses of a rival. This barrier the Reformation destroyed. A livelier and more immediate interest than national advantages or patriotism, and entirely independent of civil relations, began to actuate whole States and individual citizens; an interest capable of uniting numerous and distant nations, while it was frequently wanting among the subjects of the same government. With the reformed inhabitant of Geneva, for instance, of England, of Germany, or of Holland, the French Calvinist possessed a point of union which he had not with his own Catholic fellow-citizen. Thus he ceased in one important particular to be the citizen of a single State, and to confine his attention and his sympathies to that alone. His views extended; he learned to connect his own fortunes with the fate of his religion in other countries, and to identify their cause with his own. Princes now ventured, for the first time, to bring forward the affairs of other countries in their own councils, and to expect attention and assistance. External occurrences are, for the first time, interwoven with domestic policy, and that aid is readily accorded to the religious confederate, which would have been refused to the mere neighbour, and still more to the distant foreigner.

The inhabitant of the palatinate leaves his native country to fight side by side with his religious associate of France, against the common enemy of their faith. The Huguenot draws his sword against the country which persecutes him, and sheds his blood in defence of the liberties of Holland. Swiss is arrayed against Swiss ; German against German, to decide the succession of France, on the banks of the Loire and the Seine. The Dane crosses the Eider, and the Swede the Baltic, to break the chains which are forged for the freedom of Germany.

It is difficult to say what would have been the fate of the Reformation, and the freedom of the empire, if the formidable House of Austria had not sided against it. This much appears certain, however, that nothing so completely checked the Austrian views of universal monarchy, as the obstinate war which they maintained against the new opinions. Under no other circumstances could the weaker princes have united their subjects to such extraordinary exertions against the power of Austria, or the States have united so closely among themselves against the common enemy.

The power of Austria had never stood higher than after the victory which Charles V. obtained over the Germans at Mühlberg. By the treaty of Smalcalde, the liberties of Germany seemed entirely destroyed ; but they revived under Maurice of Saxony, once their most formidable enemy. All the fruits of the victory of Mühlberg were lost in the Congress of Passau, and the diet of Augsburg ; and every project of civil and religious oppression terminated in the concessions of an equitable peace.

By the diet of Augsburg, which first recognis-

ed the separation as legal, Germany was divided into two religious and two political parties. Till then, the Protestants had been looked on as rebels; they were now to be treated as brethren, not indeed through affection, but necessity. The Confession of Augsburg was now allowed to take its place beside the Catholic creed, though only as a tolerated neighbour, with the temporary rights of a sister. Every secular State was permitted to establish the religion which it acknowledged, as supreme and exclusive, within its own territories, and to put a stop to the open profession of any other. Every subject was allowed to leave the country where his own religion was not tolerated. The doctrines of Luther for the first time received a positive sanction; and if they thus declined in Bavaria and Austria, they were dominant in Saxony and Thuringia. But the sovereigns alone were to determine what religion was to preponderate within their territories; the interests of the subjects, who had no representatives in the diet, were little attended to in the pacification. In the Ecclesiastical territories alone, in which the Catholic religion enjoyed an undisputed supremacy, the free exercise of their religion was secured to those who had previously embraced the Protestant doctrines; but this indulgence rested only on the personal guarantee of Ferdinand, King of the Romans, by whom this peace was effected; a guarantee, which, being rejected by the Catholic members of the diet, and only inserted in the treaty under their protest, could not of course have the force of law.

If these divisions had existed only in opinion, they would have been regarded with indifference.

But on these opinions depended riches, dignity, and rights; and it was this which so deeply aggravated the evils of the separation. Of two brothers, who had hitherto enjoyed their paternal inheritance in common, one was now compelled to leave his father's house, and the necessity arose of sharing with the remaining brother. The father had made no provision for this separation, which he could not have foreseen. By the beneficent donations of pious ancestors, the riches of the Church had been accumulating for a thousand years, and these ancestors were those of the departing brother, as well as of him who remained. Was the right of inheritance then to be limited to the paternal house, or to be extended to blood? The gift had been made to the Catholic Church, because at that time no other existed,—to the elder brother, because he was then the only son. Was a right of primogeniture then to be admitted in the Church, as in noble families? Were the pretensions of one party to be favoured, merely because he had no opponent? Could the Lutherans be excluded from these possessions, to which the benevolence of their ancestors had contributed, merely on the ground, that, at the period of their foundations, the differences between Lutheranism and Catholicism were unknown? Both parties have disputed, and still dispute, with plausibility, on these subjects. Both have found it equally difficult to prove their right. Law can be applied only to imaginable cases, and perhaps that of spiritual foundations is not among the number, at least not if the intention of the founders were to be extended to a system of arbitrary tenets; for, how is it conceivable that a permanent endowment should be made on a changeable opinion?

What law cannot decide is determined by strength, and such was the case here. The one party held firmly what it could not be deprived of; the other defended what still remained to it. All the bishopricks and abbacies which had been secularized *before* the peace, remained with the Protestants; but the Catholics provided by an express clause, that none should be secularized in future. Every possessor of an ecclesiastical foundation, which held immediately of the Empire, Elector, Bishop, or Abbot, forfeited his benefices and dignities the moment he embraced the Protestant belief; he was obliged in that event instantly to abandon his possessions, and the chapter proceeded to a new election, exactly as if his place had been vacated by death. To this sacred anchor of the Ecclesiastical Reservation, which makes the temporal existence of a spiritual prince entirely dependent on his adherence to his religion, the Catholic Church in Germany is still attached; and precarious, indeed, would be its situation were this security to give way. The Ecclesiastical Reservation met with a strong opposition from the Protestants; and though it was at last admitted into the treaty of peace, it was inserted under the express declaration, that parties had come to no final determination on the point. Could it then be more binding on the Protestants, than the guarantee of Ferdinand in favour of Protestant subjects in Ecclesiastical States, was upon the Catholics? Two important subjects of dispute thus remained unsettled by the treaty of peace, and to them was owing the revival of the war.

Such was the case with religious toleration and ecclesiastical property: it was the same with re-

gard to rights and dignities. The existing German system provided only for one church, because one only was in existence when the system itself was framed. The Church had now divided; the Diet had separated into two religious parties; was the Empire still to acknowledge only one? The Emperors had hitherto been members of the Romish Church, because till now, that religion had been without a rival in Germany. But was it his connexion with Rome which constituted a German Emperor, or was it not rather Germany which was to be represented in its head? The Protestant party now extended over the whole country, and how could they be represented by the same unbroken series of Catholic Emperors? In the Imperial Chamber the German States judge themselves, for they elect the judges; it was the very object of their institution that they should do so, and that equal justice should be dispensed to all; but could this be done if the representatives of both religions were not admitted to a seat? That one religion only existed in Germany at the time of its establishment, was accidental; that no one estate should have the means of legally oppressing another, was the essential object of the institution; and this object would have been entirely frustrated if one religious party was thus enabled to decide for another. Must the essence of the design then be sacrificed, because the accidental circumstances had changed? With great difficulty the Protestants, at last, obtained for the representatives of their religion a place in the Supreme Council, but not a perfect equality of voices or parity of representation. No Protestant prince has hitherto been raised to the imperial throne.

Whatever may be said of the equality which the peace of Augsburg was to have established between the two churches, the Catholic still unquestionably had the advantage. All that the Lutheran Church obtained was toleration; all that the Catholic Church conceded, was yielded to necessity, not to justice. It was no peace between two powers on a footing of equality; but a truce between a sovereign and unconquered rebels. By this principle, all the proceedings of the Catholics against the Protestants seemed to be regulated. To embrace the reformed religion was still regarded as a crime, since it was to be visited with so severe a punishment as that which the Ecclesiastical Reservation held suspended over the apostasy of the spiritual princes. Even to the last, the Catholic Church would rather risk the loss of every thing by force, than voluntarily yield the smallest matter to justice. The loss was accidental and might be repaired; but the abandonment of its pretensions, the concession of a single point to a Protestant, still endangered the security of the Church itself. Even in the treaty of peace, this principle was not lost sight of. No unconditional concession was on that occasion made to the Lutherans. It was expressly declared, that affairs should remain on the present footing only till the approaching general council, which was to be employed in endeavouring to effect a union between the two religions. It was only in case this attempt should be unsuccessful, that the religious treaty was to become valid and conclusive. And, hopeless as this reconciliation must have appeared, even to the Catholics themselves, they seemed to think it a point gained, that they had

thus succeeded, by means of this condition, in throwing obstacles in the way of a peace.

Thus this religious treaty, which was to have extinguished forever the flames of civil war, was, in reality, only a temporary truce, the result of force and necessity ; not dictated by justice, nor flowing from any correct ideas of religion or toleration. A religious treaty of the latter kind the Catholics were unable to grant, and such a one, in truth, the Lutherans were incapable of receiving. Far from evincing a tolerant spirit towards the Catholics, they oppressed even the Calvinists when in their power ; though it must be admitted, the latter could have no great claims to a toleration which they were themselves so little disposed to practise. The times were not yet ripe ; the minds of men not yet sufficiently enlightened for a peace of this nature. Could one party exact from another what it was itself incapable of performing ? What each saved or gained by the treaty of Augsburg, was owing to the accidental situation in which they stood towards each other at its conclusion. What was gained by force was to be preserved by similar means ; the relative situation of both parties must continue the same, if the peace was to be permanent. With the sword had the boundaries of the Churches been traced ; with the sword they were to be maintained, and woe to that party which was soonest disarmed ! A melancholy and fearful prospect for the tranquillity of Germany, when the seeds of future warfare were thus sown even in the pacification itself !

A momentary stillness now pervaded the empire ; a temporary bond of unity appeared to

unite its scattered limbs into one body, and to restore for a time some vital feeling of the common weal. But the division had reached its vital being, and the restoration of its original harmony was impossible. Carefully as the treaty of peace appeared to have defined the rights of both parties, it was not less exposed to differences of interpretation. It had produced a cessation of hostilities in the heat of conflict; but the flame of war was covered, not extinguished, the claims of the rival parties silenced, but not set at rest. The Catholics imagined they had lost too much, the Protestants that they had gained too little; and the treaty which neither party could venture to violate, each endeavoured to interpret in favour of its own views.

The seizure of the ecclesiastical benefices, the motive which had so strongly inclined the majority of the Protestant princes to embrace the doctrines of Luther, operated as powerfully after peace had been concluded as before; those mediate benefices, which were not already in their possession, it was evident would soon be so. The whole of Lower Germany was already secularized; the obstinate resistance of the Catholics who had the preponderance in Upper Germany, alone prevented that quarter from following its example. Each party when it possessed the power, oppressed the adherents of the other; the ecclesiastical princes in particular, the most defenceless members of the empire, witnessed with peculiar anxiety the ambitious and encroaching disposition of their Protestant neighbours. Such as were too weak to repel force by force, took refuge under the wings of justice; the table of the Imperial Chamber was cover-

ed with complaints against the rapacity of the Protestants; and this tribunal was sufficiently ready to issue its decrees against the accused, though it had not the means of rendering them effective or available. The peace which stipulated for complete religious toleration to the States of the empire, had provided also for the subject, by enabling him, without interruption, to leave the country in which his religion was oppressed. But from the violence which the sovereign might exercise against an obnoxious subject; from the nameless oppressions by which he might harass and annoy the emigrant; from the artful snares in which subtilty was combined with power, the dead letter of the treaty afforded no protection. The Catholic subject of Protestant sovereigns complained loudly of violations of the religious peace—the Lutherans still more loudly of the oppression they experienced under their Catholic superiors. The rancour and animosities of their theologians poisoned every occurrence, however unimportant, and inflamed the minds of the people. Happy would it have been had this theological hatred exhausted its zeal against the common enemy, instead of venting its poison on the adherents of a kindred faith!

The unanimity of the Protestants would have been the means of preserving the balance between the contending parties, and thereby prolonging the peace: but as if to complete the confusion, this unity was soon at an end. The doctrines which had been circulated by Zuinglius in Zurich, and Calvin in Genève, soon began to take root in Germany, and to divide the Protestants into different parties, retaining little in common save their hatred to Popery. The Protestants of this period

no longer resembled those who, fifty years before, had framed their confession at Augsburg; and the cause of this change is to be traced to that confession itself. It had circumscribed the Protestant faith within a positive boundary, before the newly awakened spirit of inquiry had satisfied itself with the limits it prescribed; and the Protestants had thus unwittingly thrown away much of that advantage which they had gained by their defection from Popery. Their common grounds of complaint against the Romish hierarchy, and ecclesiastical abuses, and their common disapprobation of its doctrines, would have formed a sufficient point of union to the Protestants; but this rallying point they sought in the establishment of a new and positive creed, in which they embodied the distinctions, the privileges, and the essence of their church, and to which the treaty they had concluded with the Catholics bore reference. As adherents to this confession, they had acceded to the treaty; in the benefits of this peace the partisans of the confession only were entitled to participate. Whatever might be the issue, therefore, the situation of the adherents of the confession was embarrassing. If the boundaries prescribed by the confession were to be rigidly adhered to, an effectual barrier was raised against the spirit of inquiry;—if they admitted a division of opinion on matters which had been so formally defined, they sacrificed the point of union which the confession afforded. Both events unfortunately took place, and the evil consequences of both were speedily experienced. One party adhered closely to the original confession; and the other abandoned

it, only to attach themselves with equal rigour to another religious creed.

Nothing could have afforded their common enemy a more plausible pretext than this disunion among the Protestants themselves; no spectacle could have been more gratifying to them than the rancour with which they alternately persecuted each other. Who could condemn the Catholics, if, under these circumstances, they ridiculed the Protestants, who announced their own religious system as the only true creed; if they borrowed from the Protestants themselves, the weapons which they turned against them; if, in this contradiction of opinions, they held fast to the authority of their own church, which claimed a more venerable antiquity, spoke the voice of a more illustrious majority? By this division the Protestants were placed in still more serious embarrassment. The peace extended only to the partisans of the confession, and the Catholics now called upon them to explain whom they were disposed to recognise, as adherents of their creed. The Lutherans could not include the Calvinists in their communion, without offending their conscience, nor exclude them without converting a useful friend into a dangerous enemy. This unfortunate separation enabled the Jesuits, by their intrigues, to sow the seeds of dissension between both parties, and to destroy the unity of their measures. Fettered by the double fear of the Catholics, and of their own Protestant opponents, the Protestants irrecoverably lost the opportunity of placing their church on an equality with the Catholic. All these difficulties would have been avoided, and the defection of the Calvinists would have been harmless to the common cause, if they

had placed their point of union only in the abandonment of Catholicism, not in the confession of Augsburg.

But however divided in other matters, they were agreed in this, that any security which had resulted entirely from the balance of power, could only be maintained by the preservation of that equality. Mean time the continual reforms of one party, and the opposition of the other, kept both upon the watch, while the construction of the religious treaty was a never-ending subject of dispute. Every step taken by the one party, was interpreted into an infraction of the peace ; every movement of the other was maintained to be essential to its maintenance. Yet all the measures of the Catholics did not proceed, from a spirit of encroachment, as was alleged by their opponents ; many of them became necessary in self-defence. The Protestants had shown unequivocally enough what the Catholics had to expect, if they were unfortunate enough to become the weaker party. The eagerness of the Protestants to possess themselves of the property of the church, gave them no reason to expect indulgence ;—their hatred left them no hope of magnanimity or forbearance.

But the Protestants were also pardonable if they placed little confidence in the honesty of the Catholics. By the perfidious and barbarous treatment which their brethren had experienced in Spain, France, and the Netherlands ; by the shameful evasions of Catholic princes, who allowed themselves to be released by the Pope from the most sacred oaths ; and, above all, by the detestable principle, that no faith was to be kept with heretics, the Catholic Church, in the eyes of

all men of probity, had forfeited its honour. No assurance, no oath however solemn from a Catholic, could satisfy a Protestant. What security then could the religious peace afford, which the Jesuits throughout Germany represented as a measure of mere temporary convenience, which in Rome itself was solemnly disavowed?

The general council to which reference had been made by the treaty, had already been held in the city of Trent, but, as might have been anticipated, without reconciling the contending religions, without having even made a single step towards this reconciliation, without the attendance even of any deputies on the part of the Protestants. They had in consequence been solemnly excommunicated by the Church, whose representatives the council pretended to be. How then could a profane treaty, extorted by force of arms, afford any lasting security against the ban of the Church, a treaty founded on a condition which the decision of the council seemed entirely to remove? Thus a plausible pretext was not wanting to the Catholics, to violate the religious peace if they possessed the power; and henceforward the Protestants were protected only by the dread of their strength.

Other circumstances concurred to increase this distrust. Spain, on whose support the Catholics in Germany relied, was then engaged in a bloody contest with the Flemings, which had drawn the flower of the Spanish troops to the frontiers of Germany. How easily might these be introduced into the kingdom, if a decisive stroke should render their presence necessary? Germany was at that time a warlike magazine for all the other powers of Europe. The religious war had filled

it with soldiers, who were left destitute by peace : So many independent princes could easily assemble armies, and afterwards, through a spirit of gain or of party, hire them to other powers. With German troops Philip the Second waged war against the Netherlands ; with German troops their defence was maintained. Every such levy in Germany was a subject of alarm to one religious party or other, since it might be converted to the oppression of either. A travelling ambassador, an extraordinary Popish legate, an interview of princes, every unusual incident seemed to threaten one party or other with destruction. Such was the situation of Germany for nearly half a century ; the hand was ever upon the sword, the rustle of a leaf seemed matter for alarm.

Ferdinand the First, King of Hungary, and his excellent son, Maximilian the Second, held at this memorable epoch the reins of government. With a heart full of candour, a patience truly heroic, had Ferdinand effected the religious peace of Augsburg, and laboured assiduously, though vainly, in the ungrateful task of reconciling the two religions in the Council of Trent. Abandoned by his nephew, Philip of Spain, and pressed at the same time in Hungary and Transylvania, by the victorious arms of the Turks, it could not be imagined that this Emperor entertained the idea of violating the religious peace, and destroying the fruits of his own laborious toils. The heavy expenditure caused by the protracted war in Turkey, could not be defrayed by the sparing supplies of his exhausted hereditary dominions. He required therefore the assistance of the empire ; and the religious

peace alone united, in one body, its scattered members. The state of his circumstances rendered the Protestant as necessary to him as the Catholic, and imposed upon him the necessity of administering equal justice to both parties; which, amidst so many contradictory claims, was a gigantic undertaking. The issue too was far from answering his expectations. His indulgence to the Protestants only served to involve his descendants in a war, which death saved him the mortification of witnessing. His son Maximilian was scarcely more fortunate, who perhaps wanted nothing but a longer life, or a more favourable arrangement of circumstances, to have established the new religion upon the Imperial throne. Necessity had suggested to his father the policy of indulgence to the Protestants; necessity and inclination dictated the same course to the son. The grandson had reason to repent that he neither experienced the inclination, nor yielded to the necessity.

Maximilian left six sons, of whom the eldest, the Archduke Rodolph, inherited his dominions, and mounted the Imperial throne; the others were slenderly provided in some petty appanages. A few territories appertained to a collateral branch under their uncle, Charles of Styria; and even these were afterwards incorporated with the other dominions of the family under his son Ferdinand the Second. With the exception of these, the whole imposing power of Austria was now placed in a single hand, but unfortunately that hand was a weak one.

Rodolph the Second was not destitute of virtues, which would have conciliated the esteem of mankind, had his lot been cast in a private station.

His character was mild, he loved peace and the sciences, particularly astronomy, natural history, chemistry, and the study of antiquities. To these he applied with a passionate zeal, which diverted his attention from the affairs of state, and involved him in extravagant expense, at the very time when the situation of matters required the strictest attention, and his exhausted finances the most rigorous economy. His taste for astronomy degenerated into astrological reveries, to which timid and melancholy temperaments, such as his, are easily inclined. This, together with the effect of an early education in Spain, rendered him accessible to the evil counsels of the Jesuits, and the influence of the Spanish court, by which he was at last entirely ruled. Guided by tastes so little suited to the dignity of his station, and terrified by ridiculous prophecies, he disappeared, after the Spanish custom, from the eyes of his subjects, secluding himself amidst his gems and antiques, in his laboratory or his stables, while the most fatal discords pervaded the frame of the empire, and the flames of rebellion spread onward to the very footsteps of his throne. All access to his person was denied, the most pressing concerns were neglected. The prospect of succeeding to the rich inheritance of Spain, was lost by his indecision, in hesitating to espouse the Infanta Isabella. The Empire was threatened with the prospect of most fearful anarchy, because, though without heirs himself, he could not be prevailed upon to elect a King of the Romans. The Austrian States renounced their allegiance; Hungary and Transylvania threw off his supremacy, and Bohemia soon followed their example. The posterity of the

once so formidable Charles the V., was in danger of having one part of their possessions wrested from them by the Turks, and another by the Protestants, and of sinking under the powerful coalition of princes, which a great monarch of Europe had formed against them. The events which took place in the interior of Germany, were such as usually occurred, when the throne was without an Emperor, or the Emperor without a feeling of his imperial dignity. Outraged or abandoned by their head, the States of the Empire were obliged to rely on their own energy, and, by alliances among themselves, to supply the defective authority of the Emperor. Germany was divided into two leagues, which were opposed to each other in arms: Rodolph, the despised opponent of the one, and the impotent protector of the other, remained irresolute and inactive between both, equally incapable of destroying the first, or of commanding the second. What had the German empire to expect from a prince, incapable even of defending his own hereditary dominions against internal enemies? To prevent the utter ruin of the House of Austria, his own family united against him; and a powerful party was formed under his brother. Driven from his hereditary dominions, he had nothing now to lose but the Imperial dignity; and a timely death alone, saved him from this final disgrace.

It was the evil genius of Germany, which at this critical conjuncture, when only a pliant prudence, united with a powerful arm, could have maintained the tranquillity of the empire, gave it a Rodolph for Emperor. At a calmer period the Germanic Union would have main-

tained itself, and Rodolph like so many others of his rank, might have concealed his deficiencies in a mysterious obscurity. But the pressing demand for those qualities which he wanted, brought his incapacity to light. The situation of Germany required an Emperor, who by his own resources could give weight to his decisions; and the hereditary dominions of Rodolph, considerable as they were, were now so circumstanced as to occasion the greatest embarrassment to their rulers.

The Austrian Princes, it is true, were Catholics, and supporters of Popery, but their territories were far from being Catholic countries. The reformed opinions had penetrated even into these, and, favoured by Ferdinand's necessities and Maximilian's mildness, had made a rapid progress. The Austrian provinces represented in miniature the state of the empire in general. The higher and the lower nobility were chiefly Lutheran, and in the cities the Protestants had a decided preponderance. If they succeeded in introducing one of their party into the country, they contrived imperceptibly to fill all offices and situations in the magistracy with their own adherents, and to exclude the Catholics. Against the nobles, and the deputies of the city, the voice of a few prelates was unavailing; and the unrestrained ridicule and contempt of the former, soon banished them entirely from the national diets. Thus the whole of the Austrian diet had insensibly become Protestant, and the Reformation was making rapid strides towards its public recognition. The prince was dependent on the states, who had the means of granting or refusing him supplies. They availed themselves, therefore, of

the necessities of Ferdinand and his son, to extort from these princes one religious concession after another. Maximilian at last granted to the nobles the free exercise of their religion, but confined to their own territories and castles. The blind enthusiasm of the Protestant preachers disregarded the boundary which prudence had thus prescribed. In spite of the express prohibition, several of them ventured publicly to preach, not only in the towns, but even in Vienna, and the people flocked in crowds to hear their discourses, which were principally remarkable for virulence and abuse. Thus, fanaticism was supported by the never-failing instrument of polemical rancour; and the feelings of both churches, so closely intermingled, envenomed by the infusion of this intemperate zeal.

Among the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria, Hungary and Transylvania were the most insecure, and the most difficult to be kept in subjection. The impossibility of maintaining these countries against the near and overwhelming power of the Turks, had already induced Ferdinand to adopt the inglorious expedient of recognising the supremacy of the Porte over Transylvania, by an annual tribute; a disgraceful acknowledgement of his weakness, and a still more dangerous temptation to the turbulent nobility, if they had reason to complain of any grievances on the part of their master. The Hungarians had not unconditionally submitted to the House of Austria. They maintained the elective freedom of their crown, and the estates boldly contended for all those privileges which are inseparable from this right of election. The near neighbourhood of

Turkey, the ease and impunity with which they might change masters, encouraged the magnates still more in their presumption ; discontented with the Austrian government they threw themselves into the arms of the Turks ; dissatisfied with these, they returned to their allegiance to their German sovereigns. The frequency and rapidity of these transitions from one government to another, had communicated its influence also to their sentiments ; and as their country was alternately subjected to the supremacy of Austria or of Turkey, so their minds also wavered between revolt and submission. The greater the dislike felt by both countries to their degraded situation as provinces of a foreign kingdom, the more invincible was their determination to be governed by a monarch of their own, and thus it was never difficult for any enterprising nobleman to obtain their support. The nearest Turkish Pasha was always ready to bestow on a rebel against Austria, the Hungarian sceptre and crown ; with equal alacrity would Austria confer upon any adventurer the possession of provinces which had been wrested from the Porte, satisfied with having preserved even a shadow of authority, and erected a barrier against the Turks. Several of these magnates, Bathori, Boschkai, Ragoczi, and Bethlem, established themselves successively in this manner as tributary sovereigns in Transylvania and Hungary, who observed no policy more refined than that of occasionally joining the enemy, in order to render themselves more formidable to their own prince.

Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Rodolph, who were all sovereigns of Hungary and Transylvania, exhausted the strength of their other territories in

endeavouring to protect these against the irruptions of the Turks and internal rebellion. Destructive wars were succeeded in this quarter by short truces, which were scarcely more advantageous : far and wide the land was laid waste, while the injured subject complained equally of his enemy and his protector. Into these countries too the Reformation had penetrated ; and, protected by the freedom of the States, and under cover of the tumult, had made a visible progress. Its introduction was unseasonable, for party spirit was thus rendered doubly dangerous by religious enthusiasm. The nobles of Hungary and Transylvania, under the command of Boschkai, an adventurous rebel, raised the standard of revolt. The Hungarian insurgents meditated a union with the discontented Protestants in Austria, Moravia, and Bohemia, and a combined and formidable rebellion in all these countries ; and, had the design been carried into effect, the destruction of Popery in that quarter was inevitable.

The Austrian Archdukes, the brothers of the Emperor, had long beheld with silent regret the impending ruin of their house ; but these last events determined them to action. The Archduke Matthias, the second son of Maximilian, Viceroy in Hungary, and presumptive heir of Rodolph, now came forward as the prop of the sinking house of Hapsburg. Mised in his youth by a false ambition of fame, and contrary to the interests of his house, this prince had listened to the proposals of some of the Flemish insurgents, who invited him into the Netherlands to defend the liberties of that nation against his own relative, Philip the Second. Matthias, mistaking the voice of an insulated fac-

tion for that of the nation at large, obeyed the summons, and appeared in the Netherlands. But the event answered the expectations of the inhabitants of Brabant as little as his own, and he retired from this imprudent enterprise without having added anything to his fame.

His second appearance in the political world was of a more honourable nature. Perceiving that his repeated remonstrances to the Emperor himself were entirely unavailing, he assembled the Archdukes, his brothers and cousins, at Presburg, and consulted with them on the increasing dangers of their house. The brothers unanimously assigned to him, as the oldest, the task of defending that patrimony which a feeble brother was unable to protect. They placed all their rights and authority in his hands, and vested him with sovereign power, to enable him to provide with effect for the common good. Matthias immediately opened a communication with the Porte and the Hungarian rebels, and succeeded; by his address, in saving the remainder of Hungary by a peace with the Turks, and preserving the claims of Austria to the lost provinces by a treaty with the rebels. But Rodolph, as jealous of his sovereign authority as he had hitherto been negligent in maintaining it, refused to sanction this treaty, which he regarded as a criminal encroachment on his rights. He accused the Archduke of having an understanding with the enemy, and of being actuated by treasonable designs on the Crown of Hungary.

The activity of Matthias, in truth, was not entirely disinterested; but the conduct of the Emperor himself accelerated the development of his ambitious views. Secure from motives of grati-

tude, of the attachment of the Hungarians, for whom he had lately procured the blessings of peace ; assured by his emissaries of the subserviency of the nobles to his interest ; and certain of the support of a large party, even in Austria, he now ventured to adopt a firmer tone, and to discuss his grievances with the Emperor, sword in hand. The Protestants in Austria and Moravia, long ripe for revolt, and now won over by the Archduke's promise of toleration, loudly and openly espoused his party, and their long threatened union with the Hungarian rebels actually took place. A formidable conspiracy was at once formed against the Emperor. Too late, he resolved to atone for his past errors ; in vain he attempted to dissolve this fatal alliance. The empire was in arms ; Hungary, Austria, and Moravia had rendered homage to Matthias, who was already on his way to Bohemia to seize the Emperor in his palace, and paralyze, by one stroke, the sinews of his power.

Bohemia was not a more peaceable possession for Austria than Hungary ; with this difference only, that, in the latter, political considerations, in the former, religious dissensions, were the cause of the disturbance. In Bohemia, a century before the days of Luther, the first spark of the Religious war had burst forth : A century after Luther, the flames of the Thirty Years' War were rekindled in Bohemia. The sect which owed its rise to John Huss, still existed in that country ;— united with the Romish Church in ceremonies and doctrines, with the exception of the single point of the Communion, of which the Hussites partook in both kinds. This privilege had been conceded to them by the Council of Basle in an ex-

press treaty, (the Bohemian Compact); and though it was afterwards disowned by the Popes, they continued to enjoy it under the protection of the government. As the use of the cup formed the only distinctive characteristic of the sect, they were generally known by the name of Utraquists; and they readily adopted an appellation which reminded them of their favourite privilege. But, under cover of this title also were included the stricter sects of the Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, who differed from the Established Church in far more important particulars, and were in fact closely allied to the German Protestants. Among both, the German and Swiss religious innovations made a rapid progress; while the name of Utraquists, under which they contrived to conceal the change of their opinions, protected them from persecution.

But, in reality, they possessed nothing in common with the Utraquists but the name; essentially, they were entirely Protestant. Confident in the strength of their party and the Emperor's toleration, they had openly avowed their tenets under Maximilian. After the example of the Germans, they framed a Confession of their own, in which Lutherans as well as Calvinists recognised their own doctrines, and endeavoured to procure the transference of the privileges of the original Utraquist Church to the new Confession. This attempt was opposed by their Catholic fellow-subjects, and they were obliged to be satisfied with the verbal assurance of the Emperor's protection.

During the life of Maximilian they enjoyed complete toleration, even under their new form. But under his successor the scene was changed.

An Imperial edict appeared, which deprived the Bohemian Brethren of their religious freedom. The Bohemian Brethren now differed in nothing from the other Utraquists. Their condemnation, therefore, obviously involved that of all the partisans of the Bohemian Confession. All of them accordingly united to oppose the Imperial mandate in the Diet, but without being able to procure its recal. The Emperor and the Catholic States referred to the Compacts and the Bohemian Constitution ; from which little could be extracted in support of a religion, which at that time had not the voice of the country in its favour. But how completely had affairs changed since that time ? What then formed but an inconsiderable sect, had now become the reigning religion of the country. And what was it but a piece of chicanery, to define the boundaries of a religion which had originated so lately, by the terms of obsolete treaties ? The Bohemian Protestants appealed to the verbal guarantee of Maximilian, and the religious freedom of the Germans, with whom they had a right to be placed on a footing. It was in vain ; their appeal was rejected.

Such was the state of matters in Bohemia, when Matthias, already master of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia, appeared in Collin, to raise the Bohemian States against the Emperor. The embarrassment of the latter had now reached its height. Abandoned by all his other dominions, he fixed his last hopes on the Bohemians, though it was evident they would avail themselves of his necessities to forward their claims. After an interval of many years, he again appeared publicly in the Diet at Prague ; and as if to convince the

people of his existence, orders were given that all the windows should be opened in the streets through which he was to pass—a sure proof of the extremity to which he was reduced. The event justified his fears. The States, who felt their own importance, refused to take a single step without the previous confirmation of their privileges, and full assurance of religious toleration in future. It was now in vain to have recourse to the old system of evasion. The Emperor's destiny was in their hands, and he must yield to necessity. He granted at present, however, only their other demands, postponing the discussion of their religious claims till the ensuing diet.

The Bohemians now took up arms in his defence, and a bloody civil war was on the point of ensuing between the two brothers. But Rodolph, who feared nothing so much as a slavish dependence on the States, hastened to effect a reconciliation with his brother by more peaceable means. By a formal abdication he resigned to Matthias, what indeed he could not deprive him of, Austria and the kingdom of Hungary, and acknowledged him as his successor to the crown of Bohemia.

But the Emperor seemed to have escaped from one difficulty by a ruinous sacrifice, only to involve himself immediately in another. The religious affairs of Bohemia has been referred to the next diet, which was held in 1609. The Bohemians demanded the free exercise of their religion, as under the former Emperors; a Consistory of their own; the cession of the University of Prague; and the right of electing *Defenders*, or *Protectors* of *Liberty* from their own body. The answer

was the same as before ; for the timid Emperor was entirely fettered by the Catholic party. Notwithstanding the threatening tone in which the States renewed their remonstrances, Rodolph adhered to his former declaration ; refusing to grant any thing more than had been conceded by the old treaties. The Diet separated without coming to any conclusion ; and the States, exasperated against the Emperor, concerted among themselves a general meeting at Prague to adjust the means of obtaining redress.

They appeared at Prague in great numbers. In defiance of the imperial prohibition, their deliberations proceeded almost under the eyes of the Emperor. The submission which he began to show, while it proved how much they were dreaded, increased their audacity. Yet in the main point he remained inflexible. They fulfilled their threats, and came at last to the solemn resolution of establishing, of their own accord, the free and universal exercise of their religion, and of abandoning the Emperor to his necessities until he should confirm this resolution. They went farther, and chose for themselves the DEFENDERS which the Emperor had denied them. Ten were nominated from each of the three States ; they determined immediately to raise an armed force ; at the head of which Count Thurn, who had organized the insurrection, should be placed as general guardian of the liberties of Bohemia. Their determination brought the Emperor to his senses ; even the Spaniards now advised him to yield. Apprehensive lest the exasperated States should throw themselves into the arms of the King of Hungary, he signed the memorable Bohemian Letter of Ma-

jeaty, by which, under the successors of the Emperor, that people justified their insurrection.

The Bohemian confession, which the States had submitted to the Emperor Maximilian, was placed, by the Letter of Majesty, on an equal footing with the Catholic religion. The Utraquists, the title by which the Bohemian Protestants continued to denominate themselves, were put in possession of the University of Prague and a Consistory of their own, entirely independent of the archiepiscopal see of that city. All the churches which at the date of the letter they already possessed in the cities, villages, and market towns, they were allowed to retain; and if, in addition to these, they wished to erect others, the nobles and gentry were allowed to do so. It was this last clause in the Letter of Majesty which gave rise to the unfortunate disputes which rekindled the flame of war in Europe.

The Letter of Majesty erected the Protestant part of Bohemia into a sort of republic. The States had learned to feel the power which they acquired by perseverance, unity, and harmony in their measures. The Emperor now retained little more than the shadow of his sovereign authority; while in the choice of the abovenamed protectors of liberty, a dangerous incentive was added to the spirit of revolt. The example and good fortune of Bohemia afforded a seductive temptation to the other hereditary dominions of Austria, and all endeavoured to extort similar privileges by similar means. The spirit of liberty spread from one province to another; and as it was chiefly the disunion among the Austrian princes, which had enabled the Protestants so successfully to improve their advan-

tages, these princes now hastened to effect a reconciliation between the Emperor and the King of Hungary.

But the reconciliation could not be sincere. The injury was too great to be forgiven, and Rodolph continued to nourish at heart an irreconcilable hatred to Matthias. With painful regret he brooded over the recollection, that the Bohemian sceptre was at last to descend into the hands of his enemy; and the prospect was scarcely more consoling, if Matthias should die without issue. Ferdinand, Archduke of Grätz, whom he equally disliked, was in that case the next heir to the crown. In order to exclude the latter as well as Matthias from the succession to the throne of Bohemia, he formed the scheme of bequeathing that kingdom to Ferdinand's brother, the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau, who among all his relatives had always been his favourite. The prejudices of the Bohemians in favour of the elective freedom of their crown, and their attachment to Leopold's person, seemed to give plausibility to this scheme, in which Rodolph consulted rather his own factious disposition, and the gratification of his revenge, than the good of his family. But a military force was necessary to carry the project into effect, and Rodolph actually assembled an army in the bishopric of Passau. The destination of this force was concealed from all; but an unexpected inroad which it made into Bohemia, for want of pay, and without the Emperor's knowledge, and the outrages which it committed in that quarter, stirred up the whole kingdom against him. In vain he asserted his innocence to the Bohemian States; they disbelieved his protestations: in vain he attempted to restrain

the violence of his soldiery; they disregarded his orders. In the persuasion that the Emperor's object was to annul the Letter of Majesty, the Protectors of Liberty armed the Protestants of Bohemia, and invited Matthias into the country. After the dispersion of his troops at Passau, the Emperor remained helpless at Prague, shut up like a prisoner in his palace, and separated from all his councillors. Matthias in the meantime entered Prague amidst universal acclamations, where Rodolph was soon afterwards weak enough to acknowledge him King of Bohemia; so hard was the fate of this Emperor, compelled during his life to abdicate in favour of his enemy, the throne of which he had been labouring to deprive him even after his death. To complete his humiliation, he was obliged, by a personal renunciation, to release his subjects in Bohemia, Silesia, and Lusatia from their allegiance. This last stroke wounded him to the quick. Even those whom he had most reason to think he had attached to himself, had now forsaken him. When he had signed the instrument, he threw his hat upon the ground, and gnawed the pen which had rendered him that shameful service.

While Rodolph thus lost his hereditary dominions one after the other, the Imperial dignity was not much better maintained by him. Each of the religious parties into which Germany was divided, continued its endeavours to advance its own interests at the expense of others, and secure itself against their attacks. The weaker the hand that held the sceptre, and the more the Protestants and Catholics felt themselves left to their own dis-

posal, the greater necessarily became their vigilance and their mutual mistrust. It was enough that the Emperor reigned through the Jesuits, and was guided by Spanish counsels, to give the Protestants a ground for apprehension and a pretext for hostility. The inconsiderate zeal of the Jesuits, which led them in the pulpit and in their writings to call in question the validity of the religious peace, farther increased this distrust, and led them to apprehend a dangerous purpose in the most indifferent measures of the Catholics. Every step taken in the hereditary dominions of the Emperor towards the restriction of the reformed religion, at once excited the attention of all the Protestants of Germany; and this powerful support which the Protestant subjects of Austria met, or expected to meet with from their religious confederates in the rest of Germany, had no small share in occasioning the confidence of the Protestants, and the rapid success of Matthias. The general belief of the empire was, that the duration of the religious treaty was owing merely to the difficulties in which the Emperor was placed by the internal troubles in his dominions, and consequently they were in no haste to relieve him from these embarrassments.

Almost all the affairs of the Diet were neglected, either through the irresolution of the Emperor, or the obstinacy of the Protestant States, who had determined to make no provision for the common wants of the Empire till their own grievances were removed. These grievances related principally to the misgovernment of the Emperor; the violation of the religious treaty, and the presumption of the Imperial Aulic Council, which

had endeavoured to extend its jurisdiction at the expense of that of the Imperial Chamber. Formerly the Emperors had, either of themselves, in trifling matters, and with the assistance of the princes in cases of more importance, decided in the last resort, all those disputes which had not been adjusted by the more rapid medium of arms ; or had them determined by imperial judges who ambulated with the court. This prerogative they had, in the end of the fifteenth century, assigned to a regular and permanently existing tribunal, the Imperial Chamber of Spire, to which the States of the empire, in order to prevent the chance of oppression by the arbitrary power of the Emperor, reserved the right of appointing the assessors, and of periodically reviewing its decrees. By the religious peace these rights of the states, (called the Rights of Presentation and Visitation), were conceded also to the Lutherans, so that Protestant judges were now allowed a voice in Protestant causes, and both religions placed on an apparent equality in this supreme tribunal.

But the enemies of the reformation and of the freedom of the States, watchful for every circumstance that favoured their views, soon found means to neutralize the beneficial effects of this establishment. By degrees it was contrived that a supreme jurisdiction over the Imperial States should be usurped by a private imperial tribunal, the Aulic Council in Vienna, a court at first intended merely to decide such cases as were connected with the undoubted personal prerogatives of Emperor, and whose members being appointed and paid by him alone, considered the advantage of their master as their only law, and the good of the Catholic religion, of which they were members, their sole stan-

dard of equity. Several suits originating between parties of different religions, and which properly belonged therefore to the Imperial Chamber were now brought before the Aulic Council. It was not surprising if the decrees of this tribunal bore traces of their origin; if the interests of the Catholic religion and of the Emperor were preferred to justice by Catholic judges, and the creatures of the Emperor. Although all the States of Germany seemed to have an equal interest in resisting, at its commencement, so dangerous an abuse, the Protestants alone, who were most exposed to its oppression, and not even all of these, came forward as the defenders of German liberty, which, by the institution of so arbitrary a tribunal, was outraged in its most sacred point, the administration of justice. Germany in fact would have had little cause to congratulate itself upon the abolition of the right of mutual war, and in the institution of the Imperial Chamber, if an arbitrary tribunal of the Emperor was allowed to place itself side by side with the latter. The German States would indeed have improved little since the days of barbarism, if the tribunal in which they sat as Judges along with the Emperor, and for which they had resigned their original princely prerogative, should cease to be a court of necessary resort. But men's sentiments at this period displayed the strangest contradictions. The name of Emperor, a remnant of Roman despotism, was still associated with an idea of authority, which, though it formed a ridiculous contrast with the privileges of the States, was nevertheless protected by jurists, promoted by the partisans of despotism, and revered by the ignorant.

To these general grievances was gradually added a chain of strange occurrences, which increased to the utmost the distrust of the Protestants during the Spanish persecutions in the Netherlands. Several Protestant families had taken refuge in the Catholic imperial city of Aix la Chapelle, where they settled and insensibly extended their adherents. Having succeeded by stratagem in introducing some members of their sect into the magistracy, they demanded a church and a public ritual; and the demand being refused, they succeeded in enforcing it, and in usurping almost the entire government of the city by force. To see so important a city in the hands of the Protestants, was too severe a blow for the Emperor and the whole Catholic party. After all the exhortations and orders of the Emperor for the restoration of the former government had proved ineffectual, the city was proscribed by a decree of the Aulic Council, which, however, was not carried into effect till the following reign.

Two other attempts of the Protestants tended however still farther to extend their influence and their power. The Elector Gebhard of Cologne, (born Truchsess of Waldburg), conceived for the young Countess Agnes, of Mannsfeld, Canoness of Gerresheim, a passion which was not unreturned. As the attention of all Germany was directed to this intercourse, the brothers of the Countess, two zealous Calvinists, demanded satisfaction for the injury done to the honour of their house, which, as long as the elector remained a Catholic prelate could not be repaired by marriage. They threatened to wash out this stain in the blood of the Elector and their sister, unless he at once abandoned all connexion with the Countess, or agreed to vindicate her

reputation at the altar. The Elector, indifferent to all the consequences of this step, listened to nothing but the infatuation of love. Whether it was that he was previously inclined to the reformed doctrines, or that the charms of his mistress alone effected the change, he renounced the Catholic faith, and led the beautiful Agnes to the altar.

This conversion was of the most material importance. By the letter of the Ecclesiastical Reservation, the Elector, by his apostasy, had forfeited all right to his electorate; and if, in any case, it was important for the catholics to put that clause in execution, that of the Elector was one. On the other hand, the abandonment of so high a dignity was a severe sacrifice, and peculiarly so in the case of an affectionate husband, who had wished to enhance the value of his heart and hand by the gift of a principality. The Ecclesiastical Reservation was also a disputed article of the treaty of Augsburg; and all the German protestants were aware of the extreme importance of wresting this fourth electorate from the Catholics. The example had already been set in several of the ecclesiastical benefices of Lower Germany, and attended with success. Several canons of Cologne were already protestant, and in the Elector's interest, while, in the city itself, he could depend upon the support of a strong protestant party. All these considerations, strengthened by the persuasions of his friends and relations, and the promises of several German courts, determined the Elector to maintain his authority, while he abandoned his religion.

But it was soon apparent that he had engaged in a contest which he could not bring to a favour-

able conclusion. The establishment of the Protestant religion within the territories of Cologne, had already experienced the most violent opposition from the Canons and Catholic *estates* of that province. The interference of the Emperor, and an anathema from Rome, which denounced him as an apostate, and deprived him of all his dignities, temporal and spiritual, armed his own subjects and chapter against him. The Elector assembled a military force; the chapter followed his example; and to secure the assistance of a powerful arm, proceeded instantly to a new election, in favour of the Bishop of Liege, a prince of Bavaria.

A civil war now commenced, which, from the strong interest which both religious parties in Germany had in its issue, was likely to end in a general breach of the religious peace. The Protestants were particularly indignant, that the Pope should have presumed, by his apostolic power, to deprive a prince of the empire of his dignities. Even in the golden days of Papal supremacy, this privilege had been contested; how much more was it likely to be questioned at a period when his authority was entirely disowned by one party, while even with the other it rested on so tottering a foundation. All the Protestant princes expressly protested against this step on the part of the Emperor; and Henry IV. of France, then King of Navarre, left no means of negotiation untried to urge the German Princes to the strenuous assertion of their rights. The liberties of Germany depended upon the issue of the case. Four Protestant against three Catholic voices in the Electoral College must at once have given the preponderance to the

Protestant party, and for ever excluded the House of Austria from the Imperial throne.

But the Elector Gebhard had embraced the Calvinist, not the Lutheran religion; and this circumstance alone was the cause of his ruin. The animosity which subsisted between the two churches, would not permit the Lutheran States to regard the Elector as of their party, and as such to lend him their effectual support. All of them indeed had encouraged, and promised him assistance; but only one junior prince of the house of the Lower Palatinate, the Palatine John Casimir, a zealous Calvinist, fulfilled his promise. Disregarding the imperial prohibition, he hastened with his little army into the territories of Cologne; but without being able to effect any thing of moment; the Elector, destitute even of the most necessary supplies, being unable to afford him any assistance. The newly chosen Elector, on the contrary, made only the more rapid progress, being effectually supported by his Bavarian relations, and the Spanish troops from the Netherlands. The troops of Gebhard, left by their master without pay, abandoned one place after another to the enemy; others were compelled to surrender. Gebhard held out for some time longer in his Westphalian territories, till he was at last obliged to yield to superior strength. After several vain attempts in Holland and England to obtain the restoration of his dignity, he retired into the Chapter of Strasburg, and died dean of that cathedral; the first sacrifice to the Ecclesiastical Reservation, or rather to the want of unity among the Protestants of Germany.

To this dispute in Cologne was soon added another in Strasburg. Several Protestant Canons of

Cologne, who had been included in the anathema along with the Elector had taken refuge within the bishoprick, where they likewise held prebends. As the Catholic canons of Strasburg hesitated to admit them to the enjoyment of these prebends on account of that proscription, they took violent possession of their benefices, and the support of a powerful Protestant party among the citizens soon gave them the preponderance in the chapter. The Catholic canons then retired to Alsace-Saverne, where, under the protection of the Bishop, they established their Chapter as the only regular court, and denounced that which held its seat in Strasburg as spurious. The latter, in the meantime, strengthened by the accession of several Protestant adherents of high rank, ventured upon the death of the Bishop, to postulate a new Protestant Bishop in the person of John George of Brandenburg. The catholic canons, far from confirming this choice, nominated the Bishop of Metz, a Prince of Lorraine, to that dignity, who immediately announced his elevation by the commencement of hostilities against the territories of Strasburg.

That city now took up arms in defence of its Protestant Chapter and the Prince of Brandenburg; the other party, with the assistance of the troops of Lorraine, endeavoured to possess themselves of the property of the church. A tedious war was the consequence, which, according to the spirit of the times, was attended with barbarous devastation. In vain the Emperor interposed his supreme authority to terminate the dispute; the ecclesiastical property remained for a long time divided between both parties, till

at last the Protestant Prince, for a moderate pecuniary equivalent, withdrew his claim, and here also the Catholic party prevailed.

An occurrence, which soon after the adjustment of this dispute took place in Donauwerth, a free city of Suabia, affected still more strongly the interests of Protestant Germany. In this once Catholic city, the Protestants, under the reigns of Ferdinand and his son, had by their usual means acquired so complete a superiority, that the Catholics were obliged to content themselves with a church in the monastery of the Holy cross, where they were under the necessity of concealing the greater part of their religious rites from the jealousy of the Protestants. At length, a fanatical Abbot of this monastery ventured to set the popular opinion at defiance, and to organize a public procession, preceded by the Cross and banners flying; but he was soon compelled to desist from the attempt. When, a year afterwards, encouraged by a favourable Imperial proclamation, he attempted to renew this procession, the citizens proceeded to open violence. The fanatical populace shut the gates against the monks on their return, trampled their colours under foot, and pursued them to the monastery with cries and reproaches. An Imperial citation was the consequence of this act of violence; and as the exasperated populace even threatened to assault the Imperial commissaries, and all attempts at an amicable adjustment were frustrated by the fanaticism of the citizens, the city was at last formally placed under the Ban, the execution of which was intrusted to Maximilian Duke of Bavaria. The citizens, formerly so insolent, were seized with terror at the approach of the Bavarian

army, and laid down their arms without opposition. The total abolition of the Protestant religion within their walls was the punishment of their rebellion; the city was deprived of its privileges; and from a free city of Suabia, was converted into a municipal town of Bavaria.

There were two circumstances connected with this matter, which must have strongly excited the attention of the Protestants, even if the interests of their religion had operated less powerfully on their minds than it really did. The sentence of proscription had been pronounced by the Aulic Council, an arbitrary and entirely Protestant tribunal, whose jurisdiction had been always contested; and its execution had been intrusted to the Duke of Bavaria, the head of another circle. These unconstitutional steps seemed to be the heralds of violent measures on the part of the Catholics, the probable result of secret conferences and dangerous combinations, and which might readily terminate in the total suppression of their religious liberty.

In circumstances where strength prevails over right, and security depends upon power alone, the weakest party is naturally the most anxious about its defence. If the Catholics meditated an attempt upon the Protestants in Germany, the probability was, that the blow would fall on the south rather than the north, because, in the latter quarter, the Protestants were connected together by a long unbroken tract of country, and might easily unite for their mutual support, while those in the south, detached from each other, and surrounded on all sides by Catholic States, were exposed to every inroad. If, as was to be expected, the Catholics

availed themselves of the divisions of the Protestants, and levelled their attack against one of the religious parties, the Calvinists, as the weaker, and as being excluded from the religious treaty, were apparently in the greatest danger, and must necessarily have fallen on the first attack.

Both these circumstances took place in the dominions of the Elector Palatine, which possessed a very dangerous neighbour in the Duke of Bavaria, and which, by reason of their defection to Calvinism, received no protection from the religious peace, and could expect little assistance from the Lutheran States. No country in Germany has experienced so many revolutions in religion within a short period as the Palatinate. In the short space of sixty years, this country, an unfortunate instrument in the hands of its rulers, had twice adopted the doctrines of Luther, and twice exchanged them to Calvinism. The Elector Frederick the III. first abandoned the confession of Augsburg, which his eldest son and successor Lewis immediately reestablished. The Calvinists throughout the whole country were deprived of their churches, their preachers and even their teachers banished beyond the frontiers; while the Prince, in his Lutheran zeal, persecuted them even in his will, by appointing none but strict and orthodox Lutherans as the guardians of his minor son. But this illegal testament was disregarded by his brother the Count Palatine, John Casimir, who, according to the regulations of the golden bull, assumed the guardianship and the whole administration of the state. Calvinist instructors were appointed to the Elector Frederick IV. then only nine years of age, who were ordered, if ne-

cessary, to use personal chastisement in eradicating the heresies of Luther from the mind of their pupil. If such was the treatment of the sovereign, that of the subjects may be easily imagined.

It was under this Frederick, that the Palatine court made such efforts to unite the Protestant States of Germany in joint measures against the House of Austria, and, if possible, to form them into a general confederacy. Besides that the Palatine had always been guided by French counsels, of which aversion to the House of Austria was the ruling principle, regard for his own security induced him to secure in time the doubtful assistance of the Lutherans against a near and overwhelming enemy. Great difficulties, however, lay in the way of this union, because the dislike of the Lutherans towards the reformed party was scarcely less than their common aversion to the Catholics. An attempt was first made to unite the two religions, in order to form the groundwork of a political union ; but all these attempts failed, and generally ended in confirming both sects more strongly in their respective opinions. Nothing then remained but to increase the fear and the distrust of the Lutherans, and thus to convince them of the necessity of this alliance. The power of the Catholics, and the magnitude of the danger, were exaggerated ; accidental events were ascribed to deliberate plans, innocent actions misrepresented by invidious constructions, and the whole conduct of the Catholics represented as the result of a concerted and systematic plan, of which, in all probability, they entertained no idea.

The Diet of Ratisbon, in which the Protestants

had hoped to obtain a renewal of the religious peace, had separated without coming to any decision, and to their former grievances was now added the late oppression of Donauwerth. The long sought for alliance now unexpectedly took place. A meeting took place at Anhausen in Franconia, at which were present the Elector Frederick IV. from the Palatinate, the Palatine of Neuburg, two Margraves of Brandenburg, the Margrave of Baden, and the Duke John Frederick of Wirtemberg, Lutherans as well as Calvinists, and this assembly entered into a close confederacy for themselves and their heirs, under the title of the Evangelic Union. The purport of this union was, that the united princes, in matters relating to religion and their civil rights, should lend each other mutual advice and assistance as one man; that in case any member of the alliance should be attacked, he should be supported by the rest with an armed force; that, if necessary, the territories, towns, and castles of the united States should be opened to his troops; and that, whatever conquests were made, should be divided among the confederates, in proportion to the contingent furnished by each.

The direction of the whole confederacy in time of peace, was conferred upon the Elector Palatine, but with a limited power. Subsidies were demanded, and a fund established to meet the necessary expenditure; differences of religion betwixt the Lutherans and the Calvinists were to have no effect on this alliance, which was to subsist for ten years; every member of the union engaged at the same time to procure the assistance of new confederates. The Electorate of Brandenburg favoured the alliance, that of Saxony rejected

it. Hesse had no freedom of choice, the Dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg also hesitated. But the three cities of the Empire, Strasburg, Nuremberg, and Ulm, were no unimportant acquisition to an alliance which stood in need of their pecuniary assistance, and to which their example might be the means of procuring the accession of others.

The confederate States, dispirited and unimportant when alone, adopted a bolder language after the formation of this alliance. By means of Prince Christian of Anhalt, they laid their common grievances and demands before the Emperor; among which the restoration of the privileges of Donauwerth, the abolition of the Imperial Court procedure, the reformation of the Emperor's own administration and that of his counsellors, held the principal place. For these remonstrances they had chosen the very time when the Emperor had scarcely recovered from the troubles which had agitated his hereditary dominions, when he had lost Hungary and Austria to Matthias, and had barely preserved his Bohemian throne by the concession of the Letter of Majesty, and when he was threatened with the prospect of a new war, with regard to the succession of Juliers. No wonder, then, that this tardy Prince was more irresolute than ever in his decision, and that the confederates took up arms sooner than the Emperor had foreseen.

The Catholics regarded this confederacy with suspicious eyes; the Union viewed with equal distrust the Catholics and the Emperor; the Emperor was equally jealous of both; and thus, on all sides, apprehension and animosity had reached

their height. And, as if to complete the whole, at this critical conjuncture, by the death of the Duke John William of Juliers, a doubtful and disputed succession arose in the territories of Juliers and Cleves.

Eight competitors laid claim to the succession of these countries, the indivisibility of which was guaranteed by solemn treaties; and the Emperor, who seemed inclined to take possession of the vacant lands as fiefs of the empire, might be considered as the ninth. Four of these, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Palatine of Neuburg, the Palatine of Deux Ponts, and the Margrave of Burgau, an Austrian Prince, claimed them as a female fief in name of four Princesses, sisters of the late Duke. Two others, the Elector of Saxony, of the line of Albert, and the Duke of Saxony, of the line of Ernest, laid claim to it under a prior right of reversion in their favour, granted by the Emperor Frederick III., and confirmed to both Saxon houses by Maximilian I. The pretensions of some of these foreign Princes were little regarded. The nearest right was perhaps on the side of Brandenburg and Neuburg; and circumstances appeared at the time to be equally favourable to both. Both courts, as soon as the succession opened, proceeded to take possession; Brandenburg began, and Neuburg followed the example. Both began their dispute with the pen, and would probably have ended it with the sword; but the interference of the Emperor, who was proceeding to bring the suit under his own decision, and to sequester the disputed countries during its dependence, soon brought the contending parties to an agreement, in order to avert the com-

mon danger. They agreed to govern the Dutchy in common. It was in vain that the Emperor ordered the States not to do homage to their new masters ; it was in vain that he sent his own relation, the Archduke Leopold, Bishop of Passau and Strasburg, into the territory of Juliers, to strengthen the Imperial party by his presence. The whole country, with the exception of Juliers, had submitted to the Protestant princes, and the Imperialists were besieged in that capital.

The dispute about the succession of Juliers was important to the whole German empire, and also excited the attention of several European States. The point was not merely, who was or was not to possess the Dutchy of Juliers. The real question was, which of the two religious parties in Germany, the Catholic or the Protestant, was to be strengthened by so important an accession ;—for which *religion* this territory was to be lost or won. The question was, whether Austria was to be allowed to persevere in her usurpations, and to gratify her lust of dominion by another violent acquisition ; or whether the liberties of Germany, and the equality of its power, were to be maintained against her encroachments. The succession of Juliers, therefore, was an event which interested all those who were favourable to freedom, and hostile to Austria. The Evangelical Union, Holland, England, and particularly Henry IV. of France, took part in this discussion.

This monarch, who had spent the better part of his life in opposition to the House of Austria and Spain, and by perseverance and heroism alone had surmounted the obstacles by which this house had endeavoured to obstruct his way to the throne of

France, had been no inactive or uninterested spectator of the troubles in Germany. This contest of the State with the Emperor was the means of giving and securing to France the benefit of peace. The Protestants and the Turks were the two wholesome counterpoises which lowered the ascendancy of the Austrian power in the East and West; but this power would rise at once in all its terrors if the pressure was removed. Henry the Fourth had, for half a lifetime, witnessed the uninterrupted spectacle of Austrian ambition, and Austrian thirst for dominion, which neither adversity nor poverty of spirit, which generally moderate all human passions, could extinguish in a bosom in which flowed a drop of the blood of Ferdinand of Arragon. The ambition of Austria had destroyed for a century the peace of Europe, and introduced the most violent revolutions in the centre of its fairest and most important States. It had deprived the fields of husbandmen, the workshops of artisans; to fill the country with enormous armies, to cover the commercial sea with hostile troops. It had imposed upon the Princes of Europe the necessity of fettering the industry of their subjects by excessive imposts; and of wasting in the necessary defence of the country itself, the resources which should have contributed to the happiness of its inhabitants. There was no prospect of peace for Europe, of prosperity for its States, of permanence for the happiness of the people, so long as this dangerous race was permitted to disturb the repose of the world at its pleasure.

Such considerations clouded the mind of Henry at the close of his glorious career. What difficulties had it cost him to reduce to order the

troubled chaos, into which France had been plunged by the tumult of civil war fermented and supported by this Austria ! Every great mind seeks to labour for eternity ; and what security had Henry for the endurance of that prosperity which he had procured for France, while Austria and Spain remained united ; and while these powers, though now prostrate and exhausted, required only a favourable accident to unite in one body, and to revive as formidable as ever ? If he was to bequeath a firmly founded throne to his successors, and a durable prosperity to his subjects, this dangerous power must be at once disarmed. From this source was derived that irreconcilable enmity which Henry had sworn to the House of Austria ; a hatred unextinguishable, ardent, and well-founded as that of Hannibal against the Romans, but ennobled by a purer origin.

The other European powers had the same inducements to action as Henry, but all of them had not that enlightened policy, and that disinterested courage which would have led them to obey the impulse. All men are captivated by immediate advantages ; great minds alone are excited by the prospect of distant good. When policy calculates upon the prudence of others, or trusts to its own unsupported strength, its plans are chimerical, and it runs the risk of incurring the ridicule of the world ; but it may assuredly calculate upon success, when it can enlist even barbarism, avarice, and superstition on its side, and render the interests and the passions of mankind the executors of its plans.

In the first point of view, Henry's well known project of expelling the House of Austria from its

possessions, and dividing its conquests among the European powers, deserves the title of a chimera, which men have so liberally bestowed upon it; but did it merit that appellation in the second? That excellent monarch never thought of basing the execution of his projects, on the same principles which actuated himself and his minister Sully. All the States whose co-operation was necessary, were to be set in motion by the most pressing motives which political considerations could afford. From the Protestants in Germany, nothing more was required than that which had long been their object,—their rejection of the Austrian yoke. From the Flemings, nothing but a similar revolt from the Spaniards. To the Pope and the Italian Republic no inducement could be more powerful than that of expelling the Spanish tyranny from their peninsula; for England, nothing more desirable than the Revolution, which freed it from its bitterest enemy. By this division of the Austrian conquests, every power gained either land or freedom, an accession of territory or security to the old; and while all gained, the balance of power thus remained undisturbed. France might magnanimously resign her share of the prey, because, through the destruction of Austria, her internal strength was more than doubled, and she was most powerful by not seeking to extend her power. Finally, upon condition of ridding Europe of their presence, the posterity of Hapsburg were to be allowed the liberty of extending their rule in all the other known or yet undiscovered portions of the globe. But the knife of Ravallac delivered Austria from her danger, to postpone for some centuries longer the tranquillity of Europe.

With his attention directed to this project, Henry felt the necessity of taking a prompt and active share in the important events of the Evangelic Union, and the disputed succession of Juliers. His emissaries were busied in all the courts of Germany, and the little which they revealed, or allowed to be gathered as to the political secrets of their master, was sufficient to make proselytes among minds animated by so ardent a hatred to Austria, and swayed so strongly by the desire of aggrandizement. The prudent policy of Henry cemented the Union still more closely, and the powerful support which he engaged to furnish, exalted the courage of the confederates into the firmest confidence. A numerous French army, led by the King in person, was to meet the troops of the Union upon the Rhine, and assist in completing the conquest of Juliers and Cleves; then uniting with the German army to march into Italy, (where they were to be joined by a powerful reinforcement from Savoy, Venice, and the Pope), and to overthrow the Spanish dominion in that quarter. This victorious army was then to penetrate by Lombardy into the hereditary dominions of Hapsburg; and there, favoured by a general insurrection of the Protestants, destroy the power of Austria in all its German territories, in Bohemia, Hungary, and Transylvania. The inhabitants of Brabant in Holland, supported by French assistance, would in the meantime shake off the Spanish tyranny in the Netherlands; and thus the formidable stream which had thus overflowed its banks, and had threatened so lately to bury the liberties of Europe beneath its troubled waters,

would roll silent and forgotten, as at first, behind the shelter of the Pyrenees.

The French had formerly been celebrated for their activity, but upon this occasion they were outstripped by the Germans. An army of the confederates entered Alsace before Henry made his appearance there, and an Austrian army, which the Bishop of Strasburg and Passau had assembled in that quarter for an expedition against Juliers, was dispersed. Henry IV. had formed his plan as a statesman and a king, but he had intrusted its execution to plunderers. According to his views, no Catholic state would have had cause to think this preparation aimed against itself, or to identify the quarrel of Austria with its own. Religion was to remain entirely unmingled with the matter. But could the German Princes forget their own purposes in furthering the plans of Henry? Actuated as they were by the desire of aggrandizement and religious hatred, was it to be supposed that they would not gratify, as much as possible, their ruling passion? They stooped like vultures upon the territories of the Ecclesiastical princes, and always contrived to establish their quarters in those rich countries, though ever so far out of their way. They levied contributions as in an enemy's country, seized upon the revenues, and exacted, by violence, what they could not voluntarily obtain. Not to leave the Catholics in doubt as to the true objects of their expedition, they announced, openly and intelligibly enough, the fate that awaited the property of the Church. So little had Henry IV. and the German Princes understood each other in their plan of operations, so much had the excellent King been mistaken in

the instruments he employed. It is an observation confirmed by all experience, that, when policy dictates an act of violence, its execution ought never to be committed to the violent; and that the violation of good order ought to be intrusted to those alone by whom it is held sacred.

The conduct of the Union, which was condemned even by several of the Evangelical States, and the dread of still worse treatment, aroused the Catholics to something more than mere inactive indignation. The Emperor's authority had sunk too low to afford them any protection against such an enemy. It was their Union that rendered the confederates at once so formidable and so insolent; and this Union must now be opposed by another.

The Bishop of Wurtzburg formed the plan of the Catholic Union, which was distinguished from the Evangelical by the title of the League. The objects agreed upon were nearly the same as those which formed the groundwork of the Union. Bishops formed its principal members, and at its head was placed Maximilian Duke of Bavaria, but as being the only important secular member of the confederacy, he was intrusted with far more extensive powers than the Protestants had committed to their chief. Thus the whole military strength of the League being intrusted to the Duke of Bavaria alone, its operations acquired an energy and rapidity which were unattainable on the part of the Protestants, while its supplies were obtained with much greater ease from the rich prelates than those of the Protestants could be from the poorer Evangelical States. Without offering to the Emperor, as the Sovereign of a Catholic State, any share in their

confederacy, without even communicating its existence to him as Emperor; the League arose at once formidable and overwhelming; with strength sufficient to crush the Protestant Union, and to subsist during three Imperial administrations. It contended, indeed, for Austria, inasmuch as it was directed against the Protestant princes; but Austria herself had reason to tremble before it.

The arms of the Union had, in the meantime, been at once successful in Juliers and Alsace: Juliers was closely blockaded, and the whole Bishopric of Strasburg was in their hands. But here their career of triumph closed. No French army appeared upon the Rhine; for he who was destined to be its leader, he who was the animating soul of the whole confederacy, Henry IV. was no more! Their supplies were on the wane: the States refused to grant new subsidies; and the confederate free cities were offended, that their money should be so liberally called for—but never their advice. They were particularly displeased, that they should be subjected to expense in regard to the expedition against Juliers, which had been expressly excluded from the affairs of the Union; that the United Princes appropriated to themselves large pensions out of the common treasure; and, above all, that they refused to exhibit to them any account of the expenditure of the money.

The Union was thus verging to its fall, at the moment when the League started to oppose it in the vigour of its strength. The confederates, disabled by want of supplies, were unable any longer to keep the field: Yet they felt the danger of laying down their weapons in the sight of an armed enemy. To secure themselves at least on one

side, they hastened to conclude a peace with their old enemy, the Archduke Leopold; and both parties agreed to withdraw their troops from Alsace, to liberate their prisoners, and to bury the past in oblivion. Thus ended in nothing all these promising preparations.

The same imperious tone which the Union, in the confidence of its strength, had held towards the Catholics of Germany, was now retorted by the League upon themselves and their troops. Their own example was imitated; they were branded with the harshest epithets, and they deserved them. The chapters of Wurtzburg, Bamberg, Strasburg, Mentz, Treves, Cologne, and several others which had experienced their ravages, were to be indemnified; the free passage by land and by water restored (for the Protestants had even seized on the navigation of the Rhine), and every thing replaced on its former footing. But first of all, the Union was called on for an express and unqualified declaration as to its intentions. It was now its turn to yield to superior strength. The confederates had not calculated on so formidable an opponent; but they themselves had taught the Catholics the secret of their strength; and humbling as it was to their pride to sue for peace, they might now think themselves fortunate in obtaining it. The one party promised restitution, the other indemnity for the past; all laid down their arms; the tempest of war once more rolled by, and a temporary stillness succeeded. The insurrection of Bohemia then broke out, which deprived the Emperor of the last of his hereditary dominions, but

in this dispute neither the Union nor the League took any share.

At length the Emperor died in 1612, as little regretted in his grave, as he had been respected on the throne. Long afterwards, when the misery of succeeding reigns had almost effaced the recollection of the misfortunes of his, a sort of lustre was shed over his memory, and so dark a gloom had descended over Germany, that the country would have again gladly witnessed an administration such as his.

Rodolph never could he prevailed upon to choose a successor in the empire, and all awaited with anxiety the approaching vacancy of the throne; but, contrary to all expectation, Matthias took speedy and peaceable possession of it. The Catholics gave him their support, because they had formed great expectations from his vigour and activity; the Protestants, because they had equal expectations from his weakness. It is not difficult to reconcile these contradictions; the one judged of him by what he had been, the other by what he was.

The moment of a new accession is always a day of hope, and, in elective monarchies, a King's first diet is commonly his hardest trial. Every old grievance is brought forward, and new ones are sought out, that they may be included in the expected reform; a new creation is expected to arise with the new monarch. The important services which their confederates in Austria had rendered to Matthias in his insurrection, were still fresh in the minds of the Protestant free cities, and the price which their brethren had exacted for their services, they seemed to adopt as a model for their own imitation.

It was by the favour of the Protestant States in Austria and Moravia that Matthias had sought and found his way to his brother's throne; but, hurried on by his ambitious views, he never reflected that the States were thus enabled to give law to their sovereign. This discovery soon roused him from the intoxication of success. Scarcely had he presented himself to his Austrian subjects, after his triumphant return from Bohemia, when demands awaited him which were sufficient to poison his triumph. They required, before pledging their allegiance, unlimited religious toleration, complete equality of rights between Catholics and Protestants, and an equal admission of the latter to all offices of state. In several places, they assumed these privileges of themselves, and, confident in the support of the new administration, restored the Protestant religion where it had been suppressed by the late Emperor. Matthias, it is true, had not scrupled to avail himself of the grievances of the Protestants against the Emperor; but it was far from being his intention to exalt that party. He hoped, by a firm and resolute tone, to check these presumptuous demands at once. He spoke of his hereditary pretensions to these territories, and would hear of no conditional allegiance. A similar unconditional submission had been rendered by their neighbours, the inhabitants of Styria, to the Archduke Ferdinand, which, however, they soon had reason to repent. Warned by this example, the Austrian states persisted in their refusal; and, in order to avoid being compelled to do homage by force, their deputies immediately left the capital (urging their Catholic confederates to a similar resistance), and began to levy troops.

They took steps to renew their old alliance with Hungary, drew the Protestant princes into their interests, and prepared seriously to accomplish their object by force of arms.

Matthias had not hesitated to comply with the more exorbitant demands of the Hungarians. But Hungary was an elective monarchy, and the republican constitution of the country justified the demands of the states in his own opinion, and his concessions to them in the eyes of the Catholic world. In Austria, on the contrary, his predecessors had exercised far higher privileges, which he could not abandon to the states without incurring the ridicule of Catholic Europe, the enmity of Spain and Rome, and the contempt of his own Catholic subjects. His bigoted Catholic council, among which, the Bishop of Vienna, Melchio Kiesel, had the chief influence, exhorted him rather to allow all the churches to be extorted from him by the Protestants, than to yield one of them as a matter of right.

But unfortunately this consideration occurred at a time when the Emperor Rodolph was alive, and a spectator of these events, and when he might have been easily tempted to employ against his brother the same weapons which the latter had successfully directed against him ; namely, an understanding with his rebellious subjects. To escape this danger, Matthias willingly availed himself of the offer made by Moravia, to act as mediator between him and the Austrian States. A committee of both met in Vienna, when the Austrian deputies held a language, which would have excited surprise even in the English Parliament. " The Protestants," they said, " were determined

to be no worse treated than the handful of Catholics in the country. It was by the support of this Protestant nobility, that Matthias had reduced the Emperor to submission ; where 80 Catholic nobles were to be found, 300 Protestant barons might be reckoned. The example of Rodolph should be a warning to Matthias. He should beware lest he incurred the loss of the goods of this life, while he laboured to procure acquisitions for heaven." As the Moravian States, instead of using their powers as mediators for the Emperor's advantage, finally embraced the cause of their Austrian religious confederates ; as the Union in Germany came forward to afford them its most active support, and as Matthias dreaded a refusal on the part of the Emperor, he was at length compelled to grant the desired declaration in favour of the Protestants.

This conduct of the Austrian States towards their Archduke, was now imitated by the Protestant free cities in Germany towards their Emperor, and they promised themselves the same success. At his first diet at Ratisbon in 1613, when the most pressing affairs demanded immediate decision ; when a general contribution was indispensable for a war against Turkey, and Bethlem Gabor in Transylvania, who had forcibly usurped the sovereignty of that country, and even threatened Hungary, they suddenly came forward with an entirely new demand. The Catholic votes were still the most numerous in the diet ; and as every thing was decided by a plurality of voices, the Protestant party, however closely united, could maintain no competition with their rivals. The advantage they derived from this majority, the Catholics were now called on to resign ; henceforward no one re-

ligious party was to be permitted to dictate to the other by means of its invariable superiority. And in truth if the Protestant party was to be really represented in the diet, it was evident that it could not be prevented from exercising that right, merely from the constitution of the diet itself. Complaints of the judicial encroachments of the Aulic Council, and the oppression experienced by the Protestants accompanied this demand, and the deputies of the States received instructions to take no part in any general deliberations till a favourable answer should be given on this preliminary article.

The diet was torn by this dangerous division, which threatened entirely to destroy the unity of its measures. Sincerely as the Emperor might have wished, after the example of Maximilian to preserve a prudent balance between the two religions, the present conduct of the Protestants seemed to leave him nothing but a critical choice betwixt them. In his present necessities a general contribution from the States was indispensable to him; and yet he could not conciliate the one party without sacrificing the support of the other. Insecure as he felt his situation to be in his own hereditary dominions, he trembled at the very idea of an open war with the Protestants. But the attention of the whole Catholic world which was directed to his conduct, the remonstrances of the Catholic States, and of the Courts of Rome and Spain, as little permitted him to favour the Protestant at the expense of the Catholic religion. A situation so critical would have paralyzed a more energetic mind than that of Matthias; and his own prudence would scarcely have extri-

cated him from his dilemma. But the interests of the Catholics were closely united with the preservation of the Emperor's authority; if that should give way, the Ecclesiastical princes in particular would have no longer any safeguard against the attacks of the Protestants. Perceiving the Emperor still vacillating and irresolute, they now thought it full time to reassure his sinking courage. They communicated to him the secret of their League, its whole constitution, resources and strength. Discouraging as such a discovery must have been to the Emperor, the prospect of so powerful a support emboldened him to resist the claims of the Protestants. Their demands were rejected, and the diet broke up without coming to any decision. But Matthias was the sufferer by this dispute. The Protestants refused him their supplies; and left him to feel the consequences of the inflexibility of the Catholics.

The Turks, in the mean time, appeared willing to prolong the cessation of hostilities, and Bethlem Gabor remained in peaceable possession of Transylvania. The empire was freed from external enemies; and even amidst all these fearful divisions, it still enjoyed internal peace. An unexpected accident had given a singular turn to the dispute as to the succession of Juliers. This dutchy was to have been ruled in common by the Electorate House of Brandenburg and the Palatine of Neuburg; and a marriage between the Prince of Neuburg and a Princess of Brandenburg was contemplated, as the means of inseparably uniting the interests of both Houses. But the whole plan was frustrated, by an unfortunate blow on the ear which the Elector of Brandenburg, when intoxi-

cated, bestowed upon his intended son-in-law. From this moment the good understanding between the two Houses was at an end. The Prince of Neuburg embraced Popery. The hand of a Princess of Bavaria was the reward of his apostasy, and the strong support of Bavaria and Spain its natural result. In order to procure for the Palatine the exclusive possession of Juliers, the Spanish troops from the Netherlands were marched into the country. To rid themselves of these guests, the Elector of Brandenburg called the Flemings to his assistance, whose favour he expected to secure by embracing the Calvinist religion. Both Spanish and Dutch armies appeared, but, as it seemed, only to make conquests for themselves.

The war of the Netherlands seemed now about to be decided in Germany; and what inexhaustible materials of combustion were there provided for its reception! The Protestants saw with consternation the Spaniards establishing themselves upon the Lower Rhine; the Catholics, with still greater anxiety, beheld the appearance of the Hollanders within the territories of the empire. In the West, it was expected that the mine would explode, which had long been excavated beneath the whole of Germany. To the West, apprehension and anxiety were directed; but the flash which kindled the flame came unexpectedly from the Eastward.

The tranquillity which Rodolph II.'s Letter of Majesty had established in Bohemia continued for some time, under the administration of Matthias, till a new successor to this kingdom appeared in the person of Ferdinand of Gratz.

This prince, afterwards better known under the

title of Ferdinand II., Emperor of Germany, had shown himself, by the extirpation of the Protestant religion within his hereditary dominions, a bigotted and zealous adherent of Popery, and was consequently regarded by the Catholic party of Bohemia as the future support of their Church. The declining health of the Emperor, rendered it probable that that period was not far distant; and, relying on so powerful a support, the Bohemian Catholics were encouraged to treat the Protestants with little moderation. The protestant vassals of catholic nobles, in particular, were most harshly used. Several of the Catholics were at the same time incautious enough openly to avow their expectations, and by threatening expressions to excite among the Protestants a distrust of their future sovereign. But this mistrust would never have exploded in actual violence, had the Catholics confined themselves to generals, instead of furnishing the popular malcontents with enterprising leaders, by attacks on individual members.

Henry Matthias, Count Thurn, not a native of Bohemia, but proprietor of some estates in that kingdom, had, by his zeal for the Protestant cause, and an enthusiastic attachment to his newly adopted country, acquired the entire confidence of the Utraquists, which opened to him the way to the most important employments. He had served with the highest reputation against the Turks, and gained, by a flattering address, the favour of the multitude. With an ardent and impetuous temper, he loved the tumult of revolutions, where his talents would have room for display. Thought-

less and reckless enough to undertake schemes at which a colder prudence or calmer temper would have startled, he hesitated not to gratify his passions at the expense of the lives of thousands; while at the same time he possessed the art of managing as he pleased, a nation in the situation of Bohemia. He had already taken a most active part in the troubles under Rodolph's administration; and the Letter of Majesty which the States had extorted from that Emperor, was principally owing to him. The court had intrusted to him, as Burgrave of Carlstein, the custody of the Bohemian crown, and of the charter of the kingdom. But the nation had placed in his hands a more important pledge—its own liberties, in appointing him a Defender or Protector of the faith. The aristocracy, by which the Emperor was ruled, imprudently deprived him of this harmless guardianship of the dead, to leave him his full influence over the living. They took from him his office of Burgrave, which had rendered him dependent on the court; thereby opening his eyes to the importance of his other title, and offended that vanity which alone had rendered his ambition harmless. From this moment he was governed only by a spirit of revenge; and an opportunity soon occurred of gratifying that feeling.

In the Letter of Majesty which the Bohemians had extorted from Rodolph II., as well as in the German Religious Treaty, one material article remained undecided. All the privileges granted by the latter to the Protestants, were conceived in favour of the States, not of the subjects; the subjects of Ecclesiastical States only had obtained a precarious toleration. The Bohemian Letter of

Majesty, in the same manner, spoke only of the States and Imperial towns, the magistrates of which had contrived to obtain equal privileges with the States. These alone were permitted to erect churches and schools, and openly to practise their religion; in all other towns, the choice of the religion of the inhabitants was left entirely to the States to which they belonged. The German Imperial States had availed themselves of this privilege in its fullest extent; the Secular, without opposition; while the Ecclesiastical, who were restrained from the full exercise of this privilege by the declaration of Ferdinand, disputed, not without reason, the validity of that condition. What was a disputed point in the Religious Treaty, was left a doubtful one in the Letter of Majesty; in the former, the conditions were explicit enough, the only doubt regarded their execution; in the latter, the whole interpretation of the clauses was left to the States. The subjects of Ecclesiastical States in Bohemia, thought themselves entitled to the same rights which the declaration of Ferdinand secured to the subjects of German Bishops: they placed themselves on a footing with the subjects of Imperial towns, because they considered the Ecclesiastical property as belonging to the royal demesnes. In the little town of Klostergrab, subject to the Archbishop of Prague; and in Braunau, which belongs to the Abbot of that monastery, churches were founded by the Protestants, and the erections completed, notwithstanding the opposition of their superiors, and the disapprobation of the Emperor.

In the meantime, the court imagining, that the vigilance of the Defenders was in some measure relaxed, thought the present a favourable opportu-

nity for an attempt of some importance. By the Emperor's orders, the church at Klostergrab was demolished ; that at Braunau forcibly shut up, and the most turbulent of the citizens thrown into prison. A universal commotion among the Protestants was the consequence of this step : a general outcry took place against this violation of the Letter of Majesty ; and Count Thurn, excited by revenge, and called upon by his office of Defender, was busily employed in exciting the general discontent by his instigation. Deputies were summoned to Prague from every circle in the empire, to concert the necessary measures against the common danger. It was resolved to petition the Emperor for the liberation of the prisoners. The answer of the Emperor, which offended the States, because it was not addressed to them but to his viceroy, denounced their conduct as illegal and rebellious, justified what had taken place at Klostergrab and Braunau as the result of an Imperial mandate, and contained some passages of threatening and ominous import.

Count Thurn did not fail to increase the unfavourable impression which this imperial edict made upon the United States. He pointed out to them the danger in which all who had signed the petition were involved, and, by acting at once upon their resentment and their fears, endeavoured to excite them to some violent resolution. Open rebellion against the Emperor was as yet too bold a measure, but step-by-step, they were unavoidably led on to the goal. He contrived, in the first place, to direct their indignation against the Emperor's counsellors ; and for that purpose circulated a report, that the Imperial proclamation had been

formed by the government at Prague, and only signed in Vienna. Among the Imperial deputies, the President of the Council, Slawata, and Baron Martinitz, who had succeeded Count Thurn as Burgrave of Carlstein, were the chief objects of the popular hatred. Both had long before openly betrayed their hostility to the Protestants, by refusing to be present at the sitting at which the Letter of Majesty had been registered, as a part of the Bohemian constitution. They had already been threatened with being made answerable for every violation of the Letter of Majesty, and the future sufferings of the Protestants were not without reason ascribed to them. Among all the Catholic nobles, these two had treated their Protestant vassals with the greatest harshness. They were accused of hunting them with dogs to the mass, and, by a denial of the rights of baptism, marriage and burial, compelling them to embrace the Catholic religion. Against two characters so unpopular, the public indignation was easily excited, and they were readily destined as a sacrifice to the general resentment.

On the 23d of May 1618, the deputies, armed, and in great numbers, entered the royal palace, and forced their way into the hall where the deputies Sternberg, Martinitz, Lobkowitz, and Slawata, were assembled. In a threatening tone, they demanded from each of them to know, whether he had taken any part in the Imperial proclamation, or had consented to it. Sternberg received them with calmness, Martinitz and Slawata with disdain. This decided their fate. Sternberg and Lobkowitz, less hated, and more feared,

were conducted out of the room, Martinitz and Slawata were seized, dragged to a window, and thrown from a height of eighty feet, into the castle trench. The secretary Fabricius, a creature of both, was thrown after them. This singular mode of execution naturally excited the surprise of civilized nations. The Bohemians justified it, on the ground of national custom, and seemed to feel no surprise, save at the escape of the sufferers. A dunghill, on which they had the good fortune to fall, had saved their lives.

This summary execution was not calculated to ingratiate them with the Emperor, but this was precisely the point to which Count Thurn was labouring to bring them. If the apprehension of an uncertain danger had betrayed the States into the commission of such an act of violence, the certain expectation of punishment, and the consequent anxiety for their own security, would plunge them still deeper in guilt. By the brutal act of which they had been guilty, no room was left for irresolution or repentance, and a single crime rendered a chain of others indispensable. As the deed itself could not be undone, the only alternative left, was to disarm the power of punishment. Thirty directors were appointed to organize a regular insurrection. They seized upon all the offices of state, and the Imperial revenues, and summoned the whole Bohemian nation to vindicate their common cause. The Jesuits, who were regarded by the indignant populace as the authors of their past grievances, were banished from the whole kingdom, and this harsh measure the States found it necessary to justify, in a formal manifesto. All these steps were nominally taken for the better

maintenance of the royal authority and the laws—the language of all rebels till fortune has declared in their favour.

The emotion which the news of the Bohemian insurrection excited at the Imperial court, was much less lively than such intelligence deserved. The Emperor Matthias no longer possessed that resolute spirit which had led him to seek out his king and master, in the midst of his people, and to deprive him at once of three crowns. The confidence and courage which he had displayed in an act of usurpation, deserted him in his own legitimate defence. The Bohemian rebels had first taken up arms, and the nature of circumstances compelled him to follow them. Yet he could not hope to confine the war to Bohemia. In all the territories under his dominion, the Protestants were united by a dangerous sympathy; the common danger of their religion would form them at once into a powerful republic. If the Protestant part of his subjects deserted him, what opposition could he make against such an enemy? And would not both parties be equal sufferers by this destructive civil war? Every thing would be lost by defeat, nothing could be gained but a mournful victory over his own subjects, even in the event of success.

Considerations of this nature inclined the Emperor and his council to concessions and pacific measures, though there were others who ascribed to this spirit of concession the origin of the evil. The Archduke Ferdinand of Gratz congratulated the Emperor upon an event, which justified, in the eyes of all Europe, the severities which had been used against the Bohemian Protestants. "Disobedience, violence, and insurrection," he said,

“ went always hand-in-hand with Protestantism. All the privileges which had been conceded to the States by himself and his predecessor, had had no other effect but to increase the exorbitance of their demands. The attempts of the heretics were directed against the Imperial authority. Step by step they had boldly advanced to this last act of violence ;—their next attack would be aimed against the person of the Emperor himself. Arms alone would afford protection against such an enemy ; peace and submission could be established only upon the ruins of their dangerous privileges ; the security of the Catholic belief was to be found only in the total suppression of its rival. True it was, the issue of the war was uncertain, but their ruin was inevitable, unless they engaged in it. The forfeiture of the rebels would richly indemnify them for its expenses, while the terror of executions would teach the other States in future a speedy obedience. ” Were the Bohemian Protestants to blame, if they took up arms in time against the operations of principles such as these ? The insurrection in Bohemia, too, was directed only against the successor of the Emperor, not against himself, who had done nothing to justify the complaints of the Protestants. To exclude this prince from the Bohemian throne, they had already taken up arms under Matthias, though as long as this Emperor lived, they had restrained themselves within the bounds of an apparent submission.

But Bohemia was now again in arms, and the Emperor could not offer them peace without imitating their example. Spain advanced subsidies, and promised to support him with troops from

Italy and the Netherlands. Count Bucquoi, a native of the Netherlands, was named generalissimo, from a belief that no native was to be trusted, and Count Dampierre, another foreigner, commanded under him. Before the army was put in motion, the Emperor attempted an amicable arrangement, by the publication of a manifesto, in which he assured the Bohemians that he held sacred the Letter of Majesty, that he had never formed any designs against their religion or their privileges ; that his present preparations were rendered necessary by their own ; and that he was ready to disband his army the moment the Bohemians laid down their arms. But these favourable proposals failed in their effect, the leader of the insurrection having found means to conceal from the people the Emperor's good intentions. Instead of these, the most alarming reports were put in circulation from the pulpit, and in the pamphlets of the day, and the terrors of the populace excited by the apprehension of a second massacre of St Bartholomew, which existed only in their own imagination. All Bohemia, with the exception of three towns, Budweiss, Krummau, and Pilsen, took part in this insurrection. These three towns, whose inhabitants were principally Catholics, alone had the courage, in this general revolt, to hold out for the Emperor, who promised them assistance. But the danger of leaving three places of such importance in the hands of the enemy, by which the Imperialists might at any time make their way into the country, was a danger too obvious to escape the vigilance of Count Thurn. He suddenly appeared before Budweiss and Krummau, in the hope of terrifying them into a surrender. With

Krummau he succeeded, but Budweiss held out with obstinacy against all his attacks.

The Emperor now began to display more resolution and activity. Bucquoi and Dampierre, with two armies, fell upon the Bohemian territories, which they treated as a hostile country. But the Imperial guards found the way to Prague more difficult than they had expected. Every pass, every position which afforded the means of resistance, they were obliged to carry by force; and the obstinacy of this resistance increased at every step of their progress, as the outrages of their troops, chiefly consisting of Hungarians and Walloons, excited even their friends to revolt, while it drove their enemies to despair. While his troops were thus penetrating into Bohemia, the Emperor continued to offer to the States proposals for peace and an amicable adjustment. But the courage of the rebels was increased by the new prospects which opened to them. The States of Moravia espoused their party; and a defender, equally intrepid and unexpected, arose among them in Germany, in the person of Count Mansfeld.

The heads of the Evangelic Union had been silent, but not inactive spectators of the troubles in Bohemia. Both were contending for the same cause, and against a common enemy. In the fate of Bohemia, their confederates might read their own; and the cause of this people they represented as of the deepest importance to the German Union. True to these principles, they supported the courage of the insurgents by promises of assistance; and a fortunate accident now enabled them unexpectedly to fulfil them.

Peter Ernest Count Mansfeld, son of an emi-

rent Austrian officer, Ernest von Mansfeld, who had for some time commanded with distinction the Spanish army in the Netherlands, was the means of lowering the power of the House of Austria in Germany. His first campaigns had been made in the service of Austria, and under the banners of the Archduke Leopold, in Juliers and Alsace, against the Protestant religion and the liberties of Germany. But insensibly gained over by the principles of their religion, he abandoned a leader whose selfishness denied him the recompense of his services, and devoted his zeal and his victorious sword to the cause of the Evangelic Union. It happened that the Duke of Savoy, an ally of the Union, now required their assistance in a war against the Spaniards. They assigned to him their new acquisition, and Mansfeld received instructions to raise an army of 4000 men in Germany, for the service, and at the expense of the Duke. The army was ready to march at the time when the flame of war broke out in Bohemia, and the Duke, who at that moment did not require its assistance, placed it at the disposal of the Union. Nothing could be more agreeable to these troops than the prospect of serving their confederates in Bohemia, at the cost of another. Mansfeld received immediate orders to lead these 4000 men into that kingdom; and a nominal commission from the Bohemians concealed from the public the real author of this preparation.

This Mansfeld now appeared in Bohemia, and, by the occupation of Pilsen, a strong town of that kingdom, and in the interests of the Emperor, obtained a firm footing in the country. The courage of the rebels was farther increased by suc-

cours which the Silesian States despatched to their assistance. Between these and the Imperialists, several indecisive, though destructive skirmishes, took place, which were the prelude to a more serious war. To check the spirit of his military operations, they entered into a negotiation with the Emperor, and appeared willing to avail themselves of the proffered mediation of Saxony. But before the event could prove the insincerity of these proposals, death removed the Emperor from the scene.

What had Matthias now done to justify the expectations of the world, which he had excited by his triumph over his predecessor? Was it worth his while to have made his way by crime to his brother's throne, to maintain it with so little dignity, to leave it with so little renown? The life of Matthias on the throne was one of penance, for the imprudent rashness with which he had mounted it. To enjoy the regal dignity a few years sooner, he had sacrificed the freedom of his crown. The slender portion of independence left him by the increasing authority of the States, was still farther narrowed by the encroachments of his own relations. Sickly and childless, he saw the hopes and attention of the world turned to an ambitious heir who was already anticipating his fate; and, in the declining administration of his aged predecessor, was already commencing his own.

The reigning line of the German House of Austria was in a manner extinct with Matthias; for of all the sons of Maximilian, one only was now alive, the weak and childless Archduke Albert, in the Netherlands, who had already assigned his claims on this inheritance to the line of Gratz.

The Spanish House had also, in a secret bond, resigned all its pretensions to the Austrian possessions in favour of the Archduke Ferdinand of Styria, in whom the branch of Hapsburg was about to shoot forth anew, and the former greatness of Austria to experience a revival.

The father of Ferdinand was the Archduke Charles of Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria, the youngest brother of the Emperor Maximilian II.; his mother a Princess of Bavaria. Having lost the first at twelve years of age, the Archduchess intrusted him to the guardianship of her brother William, Duke of Bavaria, under whose eyes he was instructed and educated by Jesuits at the University of Ingolstadt. What principles he was likely to imbibe by his intercourse with a prince who had abdicated his government from devotional motives, may be easily conceived. They pointed out to him on the one side, the indulgence of Maximilian and his house towards the adherents of the new doctrines, and the confusion that pervaded their territories; on the other, the happy situation of Bavaria, and the inflexible religious zeal of its sovereigns; and left him to choose between these two examples.

Formed in this school to be a steadfast champion of religion, and a ready instrument of the views of the Church, he left Bavaria, after a residence of five years, to assume the government of his own hereditary dominions. The States of Carniola, Carinthia and Styria, who, before doing homage, required from him a confirmation of their religious toleration, were told that toleration had nothing to do with their allegiance. The oath was un-

conditionally demanded and taken. Several years however elapsed, before the schemes which had been concerted at Ingolstadt were matured. Before proceeding to their execution, he paid his devotions in person to the Virgin at Loretto, and received the Apostolic benediction in Rome at the feet of Clement VIII.

The plan which had been thus formed, was no less than to expel the Protestants from a country where the advantage of numbers was upon their side, and where their religion had been legally recognised by a former act of toleration, granted by his father to the nobility and gentry. A concession so formally ratified could not be repealed without danger; but no difficulties could deter the pious pupil of the Jesuits. The example of other States, both Catholic and Protestant, which had exercised without contradiction a right of reformation within their own territories, and the abuse which the States of Styria made of their religious freedom, would serve to justify this violent measure. Under the shelter of an absurd positive law, he thought himself at liberty to despise those of equity and prudence: And it must be admitted, that, in the execution of this urgent plan, Ferdinand displayed no common portion of courage and perseverance. Without tumult, and we may add, without cruelty, he gradually succeeded in suppressing the Protestant service in one town after another, till, in a few years, to the astonishment of Germany, this dangerous enterprise was completed.

But, while admired by the Catholics as a hero, and the champion of the Church, the Protestants began to take measures against him as their most

formidable enemy. Matthias's purpose of bequeathing to him the succession, however, met at first with little opposition: Even the Bohemians agreed to receive him as their future king, on very favourable conditions. Afterwards, when the pernicious influence of his councils in the administration of the Emperor became obvious, their anxiety was awakened; and several projects, in his own handwriting, which unfortunately came into their hands, and which plainly enough evinced his intentions, excited their apprehension to the utmost. They were particularly alarmed by a secret family compact with Spain, by which Ferdinand, in default of heirs-male, had bequeathed to that Crown the kingdom of Bohemia, without regard to its elective freedom. The numerous enemies, too, which that prince had created among the Protestants by his reforms in Styria, were of the worst consequence to his interests in Bohemia; and some Styrian emigrants, who had taken refuge there, and brought with them into their adopted country hearts overflowing with revenge against the author of their calamities, were particularly active in exciting the flame of revolt. Thus ill-affected did Ferdinand find the Bohemians, when he succeeded Matthias.

• So bad an understanding between the nation and the candidate for the throne, would have raised a storm even in the most peaceable succession; how much more so at the present moment, amidst the tumult of insurrection; when the nation had resumed its dignity and reasserted its rights; when, with arms in their hands, and animated by the consciousness of their unity, their courage had been exalted by past success, by the promises of

foreign assistance, and by visionary expectations of the future ! Disregarding the rights which Ferdinand already possessed, the States declared the throne vacant, and their right of election entirely unfettered. All prospects of a peaceful arrangement seemed at an end, and if Ferdinand was to possess the crown of Bohemia, it must either be by the sacrifice of all that renders a crown desirable, or he must conquer the kingdom by force of arms.

But with what resources was this conquest to be effected ? Wherever he turned his eyes, all was tumult and confusion. Silesia had already taken part with the insurgents in Bohemia ; Moravia was on the point of following its example. In Upper and Lower Austria, the spirit of liberty was awake, as it had been under Rodolph, and the States refused to do homage. Hungary was threatened with an irruption by Prince Bethlem Gabor of Transylvania ; secret preparations among the Turks spread consternation among the provinces to the eastward ; and, to crown these misfortunes, the Protestants, roused by the general example, were again beginning to raise their heads in his own hereditary dominions. Their numbers in that quarter were overwhelming ; in most places they had possession of the revenues by which alone the war could be maintained. The neutral began to waver, the faithful to be discouraged, the turbulent alone to be animated and confident. One half of Germany encouraged the rebels, the other inactively awaited the event ; Spanish aid was still at a distance. The moment which had brought him every thing, threatened also to deprive him of all.

The proposals of peace, which the pressure of stern necessity now compelled him to offer to the Bohemian rebels, were rejected with disdain. Count Thurn, at the head of an army, entered Moravia to bring this province, which alone continued to waver, to a decision. The appearance of their friends was the signal of revolt for the Moravian Protestants. Brünn was taken, the remainder of the country voluntarily yielded; government and religion were changed throughout the province. Swelling as it proceeded, the torrent of rebellion poured down upon Austria, where a party, holding similar sentiments, gladly favoured its progress. "There was to be in future no distinction between the two religions; equality of rights was to be guaranteed to all Christian churches. They had heard that a foreign force had been invited into the country to oppress the Bohemians. They would seek them out, and pursue the enemies of liberty to the ends of the earth." Not an arm was raised in defence of the Archduke, and the rebels, at length, encamped before Vienna to besiege their Sovereign in his capital.

Ferdinand had sent his children from Grätz, where they were no longer safe, to the Tyrol; he himself awaited the insurgents in his capital. A handful of soldiers was all he had to oppose to the enraged multitude; and even these, in want of pay, and even of bread, were little to be depended on. Vienna was unprepared for a long siege. The Protestant party, who were prepared immediately to join the Bohemians, had the preponderance in the city; those in the country had already begun to levy troops. The Protestant populace already,

in imagination, saw the Emperor shut up in a monastery, his territories divided, and his children become Protestants. Thus surrounded by secret and public enemies, he saw the gulf every moment widening beneath him which threatened his hopes, and even himself with destruction. The Bohemian balls were already falling upon the imperial palace, while sixteen Austrian barons forcibly entered his chamber, and by threats and reproaches, endeavoured to force him into a confederation with the Bohemians. One of them actually seized him by the button of his dress, exclaiming, "Ferdinand, wilt thou sign it?"

Who could be blamed for giving way under circumstances such as these? Yet Ferdinand did not forget the dignity of a Roman Emperor. No alternative seemed left to him but that of flight or submission; men of sense advised him to the one, the Catholic priesthood to the other. If he abandoned the city, it fell at once into the enemy's hands; with Vienna, Austria was lost; with Austria, the imperial throne. Ferdinand would neither forsake his capital, nor listen to any conditions.

The Archduke was still engaged in altercation with the barons, when the sound of trumpets was suddenly heard in the palace square. Terror and astonishment took possession of all present; a fearful report pervaded the palace: the deputies one after the other disappeared. Many of the nobility and the citizens were seen taking refuge hastily in the camp of Thurn. This sudden change was effected by a regiment of Dampierre's curassiers, who at that moment marched into the city to defend the Archduke. The infantry soon fol-

lowed; several of the Catholic citizens, reassured by their appearance, and even the students themselves took up arms. A report which at the same time reached him from Bohemia completed his preservation; the Flemish general Bucquoi had totally defeated Count Mansfeld at Budweiss, and was on his march towards Prague. The Bohemians hastily broke up their camp before Vienna to protect their capital.

The passes of which the enemy had taken possession to impede Ferdinand's progress to his coronation at Frankfort were now free. The possession of the Imperial throne, at all times important for the plans of the King of Hungary, was peculiarly so at the present moment, when this nomination to the dignity of Emperor would afford the most unsuspecting and decisive proof of respect for his person, and of the justice of his cause, while it would assure him of the support of the empire. But the same cabal which opposed him in his hereditary dominions, pursued him also in his canvass for the Imperial dignity. No Austrian prince, they were determined, should mount the throne; least of all Ferdinand, the bigotted persecutor of their religion, the slave of Spain and the Jesuits. To prevent this, the crown had been offered even during the lifetime of Matthias to the Duke of Bavaria, and on his refusal to the Duke of Savoy. As some difficulty was experienced in settling with the latter the conditions of acceptance, their present object was to delay the election at all events, till some decisive blow in Austria or Bohemia should annihilate the hopes of Ferdinand, and incapacitate him from any competition for this dignity. The Union exerted themselves to the ut-

most, to excite the Electorate of Saxony, which was in the Austrian interests, against Ferdinand; by representing to this court the dangers with which the protestant religion, and even the constitution of the empire, were threatened by the principles of this prince and his Spanish attachments. By the elevation of Ferdinand to the Imperial throne, Germany would be involved in his private quarrels, and the arms of Bohemia directed against the Emperor. But in spite of all opposition the day of election was fixed; Ferdinand, as lawful king of Bohemia, raised to that dignity, and his electoral vote, after a vain resistance on the part of the Bohemian States, recognised as valid. The three ecclesiastical electorates were his own, Saxony was favourable to him, Brandenburg made no opposition, and he was declared Emperor in 1619 by a decisive majority. The most doubtful of his crowns was thus secured to him, while he lost in a few days afterwards that which he had considered as the most certain of his possessions; while he was thus elected Emperor in Frankfort, he was in Prague deprived of the Bohemian throne.

Almost all his German hereditary dominions had in the meantime entered into a formidable league with the Bohemians, whose insolence now exceeded all bounds. On the 17th of August 1619, a general diet proclaimed the Emperor an enemy to the Bohemian religion and liberties; who by his pernicious counsels had excited the late Emperor against them; had furnished troops with the view of oppressing them, introduced foreigners to ravage their country, and had finally, in defiance of the rights of the nation, bequeathed the crown

by a secret compact to Spain ; they declared his title forfeited, and proceeded immediately to a new election. As the sentence had been pronounced by Protestants, their choice was not likely to fall upon a Catholic prince, though, to save appearances, some votes were given for Bavaria and Savoy. But the violent religious animosities which divided the evangelical and the reformed parties among the Protestants, rendered the election even of a Protestant king for some time difficult ; till at last, the address and activity of the Calvinists prevailed over the numerical superiority of the Lutherans.

Among the princes who were competitors for this dignity, the Elector Palatine Frederick V. had the chief claim on the confidence and gratitude of the Bohemians ; and among them all there was no one in whom the preference arising from private interests and popular inclination, was apparently so completely justified by the advantages of the state. Frederick V. was of a free and spirited disposition, of great goodness of heart, and regal liberality. He was the head of the Calvinist party in Germany, the leader of the Union, whose resources were at his disposal, a near relation of the Duke of Bavaria, and a son-in-law of the King of Great Britain, who might lend him his powerful support. All the advantages were prominently and successfully brought forward by the Calvinists, and Frederick V. was chosen King by the Assembly at Prague, amidst tears of joy, and prayers for his success.

The whole proceedings of the Diet at Prague had been premeditated, and Frederick himself had taken too active a share in the matter, to feel at

all surprised at the offer made to him by the Bohemians. Yet he shrank from the immediate glitter of the throne, and trembled at the double extent of his elevation, and his delinquency. After the usual manner of weak minds, he sought to confirm himself in his purpose by the support of other opinions; but these opinions produced no effect on his mind, when they ran counter to his own. Saxony and Bavaria which he consulted, all his brother electors, all who compared the magnitude of the enterprise with his capacity and his resources, warned him of the danger into which he was about to plunge. Even King James of England would have rather seen his son-in-law deprived of this crown, than the sacred majesty of kings outraged by so dangerous an example. But of what avail were prudential considerations, when opposed to the seductive glitter of a crown? In the moment of their proudest energies, when they had indignantly shaken off the last and consecrated descendant of the race which had governed them for two centuries, a free people threw themselves into his arms. Confiding in his courage, they had chosen him as their leader in the dangerous career of liberty and renown. To him, as to its born protector, an oppressed religion looked for shelter and support against its persecutors. Could he have the weakness to acknowledge his fears, and to abandon the cause of religion and liberty? This religion proclaimed its own preponderance, and the weakness of its rival;—two thirds of the power of Austria were now armed against Austria itself, while a formidable confederacy, already formed in Transylvania, would divide even the weak remains of its

strength, by a hostile attack on that quarter. Could inducements such as these fail to awaken his ambition, or such hopes to animate and inflame his resolution?

A few moments of calm consideration, would have been sufficient to convince him of the greatness of the hazard he incurred, and the comparative worthlessness of the prize. But the incitement was addressed to his feelings; the warning only to his reason. It was unfortunate for him, that those with whom he was most conversant, and to whose influence he was most exposed, espoused the side of his passions. The aggrandizement of their master, opened an unlimited field for the gratification of the ambition and avarice of his Palatine servants; this triumph of their church, was sufficient to excite the imagination of the enthusiastic Calvinist. Could a mind so weak as that of Ferdinand, resist the flattering representations of his counsellors, who exaggerated his resources and his strength, as much as they underrated those of his enemies; or the exhortations of his preachers, who announced the effusions of their fanatical zeal as the immediate inspiration of heaven? Astrological dreams filled his mind with visionary hopes; even love conspired with its irresistible influence to complete the seduction. "You were bold enough," said the Electress to him, "to marry the daughter of a king, and do you hesitate to accept the crown which is voluntarily offered you? I would rather live on bread at a kingly table, than feast at an Electoral board."

Frederick accepted the Bohemian crown. The coronation took place with unexampled pomp at Prague, for the nation displayed all its riches in honour of its own work. Silesia and Moravia,

the adjoining provinces to Bohemia, followed their example, and did homage to Frederick. The reformation took place in all the churches of the kingdom ; the rejoicings were unbounded, their attachment to their new king almost approaching to adoration. Denmark and Sweden, Holland and Venice, and several of the Dutch States, acknowledged him as legitimate sovereign, and Frederick now prepared to maintain his new acquisition. His principal expectations were placed on Prince Bethlem Gabor of Transylvania.

This formidable enemy of Austria, and of the Catholic church, not content with the principality which, with the assistance of the Turks, he had wrested from his legitimate Prince, Gabriel Bathosi, eagerly embraced this opportunity of aggrandizing himself at the expense of Austria, which had hesitated to acknowledge him as sovereign of Transylvania. An attack upon Hungary and Austria was concerted with the Bohemian rebels, and both armies were to unite before the capital.

Meantime Bethlem Gabor concealed the true object of his preparations under the mask of friendship, and artfully promised the Emperor to lure the Bohemians into the toils, by a pretended offer of assistance, and to deliver up to him alive the leaders of the insurrection.

All at once, however, he appeared in a hostile attitude in Upper Hungary, spreading terror before, and leaving devastation behind him ; every thing yielded before him, and at Presburg he received the Hungarian crown. The Emperor's brother, who governed in Vienna, trembled for the capital ; he hastily summoned General Boucquoi to his

assistance, and the retreat of the Imperialists brought the Bohemians, a second time, before the walls of Vienna. Strengthened by the accession of twelve thousand Transylvanians, and soon after joined by the victorious army of Bethlem Gabor, they threatened to overpower the capital anew. Every thing was laid waste up to the very gates of Vienna, the navigation of the Danube closed, all supplies cut off, and the terror of famine approaching. Ferdinand, whom this pressing danger hastily recalled to his capital, saw himself a second time on the brink of ruin. But want of provisions, and the inclemency of the weather, finally compelled the Bohemians to retreat, a defeat in Hungary recalled Bethlem Gabor, and thus the Emperor had the good fortune, a second time, to escape. In a few weeks the scene was entirely changed, and the affairs of Ferdinand improved as rapidly, through his prudence and activity, as those of Frederick declined, through the indolence and impolicy of his measures. The States of Lower Austria were induced to return to their allegiance by a confirmation of their privileges ; and the few who still held out were declared guilty of *lese majeste* and high treason. Thus the Emperor regained a firm footing in one of his hereditary dominions, and every engine was at once put in motion to procure foreign assistance.

During the election of Frankfort, he had already received the verbal assurances of the Ecclesiastical Electors, and at Munich he had gained over to his cause Maximilian Duke of Bavaria.

The whole event of the war, the fate of Frederick and the Emperor, were now dependent on

the share which the Union and the League should take in the troubles of Bohemia. It appeared to be the interest of all the Protestants of Germany to support the King of Bohemia, while it was equally that of the Catholics to prevent the ruin of the Emperor. If the Protestants were victorious in Bohemia, all the Catholic princes in Germany might tremble for their possessions ; if they were defeated, the Emperor would have it in his power to give law to Protestant Germany.

Thus Ferdinand put the League, Frederick the Union, in motion. The ties of relationship and personal attachment to the Emperor his brother-in-law, with whom he had been educated at Ingolstadt, zeal for the Catholic religion, which appeared in the most imminent danger, and the insinuations of the Jesuits, united to the suspicious movements of the Union, determined the Duke of Bavaria, and all the princes of the League, to make the cause of Ferdinand their own.

After concluding a treaty with the latter, by which he was assured of indemnity for all the expenses of the war, or the losses he might sustain, Maximilian assumed, with unlimited power, the command of the troops of the League, which were about to hasten to the assistance of the Emperor against the Spanish rebels. The leaders of the Union, instead of attempting to prevent this dangerous union of the League with the Emperor, strove rather to accelerate it. If they could once induce the Catholic League to take a decided part in the Bohemian war, they might assure themselves of similar measures on the part of all the members and allies of the Union. Without some open step taken by the Catholics against the

Union, no effectual confederacy could be formed among the Protestants. They chose, therefore, the present critical moment of the troubles in Bohemia to demand from the Catholics the removal of their past grievances, and complete security for their religion in future. This demand, conceived in menacing terms, was addressed to the Duke of Bavaria as the head of the Catholics, and an immediate and categorical answer was required. Whether Maximilian decided for or against them, their point was equally gained ; his concessions, if he yielded, would deprive the Catholics of their most efficient support ; his refusal would arm the whole Protestant party, and render unavoidable a war by which they hoped to be the gainers. Maximilian, firmly attached to the other party from so many considerations, received the demands of the Union as a final declaration of war, and prepared for immediate hostilities. While Bavaria and the League thus took up arms for the Emperor, application was made for subsidies to the Spanish Court. All the difficulties which were thrown in the way of this negotiation, by the indolent policy of that ministry, were successfully surmounted by the Imperial ambassador at Madrid, Count Khevenhuller : A supply of a million of florins was gradually obtained from this court, and an attack upon the lower Palatinate, from the Spanish Netherlands, at the same time resolved upon.

While these attempts were making to draw the Catholic powers into the League, the Protestants were labouring with equal activity to cement their own confederacy. They worked on the fears of the Elector of Saxony, and several of the other

Ecclesiastical States, by circulating the rumour, that the object of the League was to wrest from them the Chapters which had been secularized. The fears of the former, however, were set at rest by a written assurance to the contrary ; while his private dislike to the Palatine, the insinuations of his chaplain, who was in the pay of Austria, and his mortification at having been passed over by the Bohemians in their election, strongly inclined him to the side of Austria. The fanaticism of the Lutherans could never forgive the reformed party, for drawing, as they expressed it, so many fair provinces into the gulf of Calvinism, and substituting the Helvetian Antichrist for the Roman.

While Ferdinand made every effort to ameliorate his situation, Frederick was daily injuring his cause by his close connexion with the Prince of Transylvania, the open ally of the Porte ; he gave offence to weak minds ; and was generally suspected of seeking his own aggrandizement at the expense of Christendom, and arming the Turks against Germany. His inconsiderate zeal for the Reformed religion excited the Lutherans, his attack on image worship, the Catholics of Bohemia against him. New and oppressive imposts alienated from him the affections of his subjects. The disappointed ambition of the Bohemian nobles cooled their zeal ; the delay of foreign succours abated their confidence. Instead of directing his undivided attention to the administration of his kingdom, Frederick wasted his time in amusements ; instead of filling his treasury by a wise economy, he squandered his revenues by a needless theatrical pomp, and a misplaced munificence. His new dignity inspired him with careless levity,

and while he laboured, with ill-timed activity, to enjoy the pleasures of a crown, he neglected the more pressing necessity of securing its possession.

But if men were dissatisfied in the expectations they had formed of him, Frederick himself was not less deceived in his hopes of foreign assistance. Most of the members of the Union considered the affairs of Bohemia as unconnected with the true object of their confederacy; others, who were devoted to him, were overawed by fear of the Emperor. Saxony and Hesse Darmstadt had already been gained over by Ferdinand; Lower Austria, on which side an active diversion had been expected, submitted to the Emperor; and Bethlem Gabor had concluded a truce with him. The Court of Vienna contrived to pacify Denmark by negotiations, and to involve Sweden in a war with the Poles. The Republic of Holland was scarcely able to protect itself against the Spaniards; Venice and Saxony remained inactive; King James of England was overreached by the artifice of Spain. One friend after another disappeared; one hope vanished after another—so rapid was the alteration which a few months had effected!

In the meantime the leaders of the Union assembled an army;—the Emperor and the League followed their example. The troops of the latter were assembled under the banners of Maximilian at Donauwerth, those of the Union at Ulm, under the Margrave of Anspach. The important moment seemed at last to have arrived which was to terminate these long divisions by a decisive blow,

and by which the condition of both churches in Germany was to be irrevocably settled. The expectation of both parties was directed with anxiety to the event. What then was their astonishment when the intelligence of peace arrived, and both armies separated without striking a blow !

This peace, which was equally acceptable to both parties, had been effected by the mediation of France. The French ministry, no longer guided by the counsels of Henry the Great, whose policy was perhaps inapplicable to the present state of that kingdom, were now far less afraid of the preponderance of Austria, than of the increasing power of the Calvinists, if the Palatine house were to remain in possession of the throne of Bohemia. Engaged at the same time in a dangerous contest with its own Calvinist subjects, France had no object more at heart than the speedy suppression of the Protestant faction in Bohemia, before the influence of their example could extend to the Huguenots. In order therefore to facilitate the Emperor's operations against the Bohemians, they had interposed as mediators between the Union and the League, and effected this unexpected treaty, of which the main article was, " That the Union should give up all interference in the transactions in Bohemia, and that the aid which they might afford to Frederick the Fifth, should be confined to his Palatine territories." The firmness of Maximilian, and the fear of being pressed at once by the troops of the League, and a new Imperial army which was on its march from the Netherlands, induced the Union to conclude this disgraceful treaty.

The Emperor was now at liberty to direct the

whole force of Bavaria and the League against the Bohemians, who by the treaty of Ulm were abandoned to their fate. Before the intelligence of the treaty could reach that quarter, Maximilian suddenly appeared in Upper Austria, when the States, surprised and unprepared for such an enemy, were glad to purchase the Emperor's pardon by an immediate and unconditional submission. In Lower Austria the Duke summoned the troops of the Netherlands under Bucquoi to his assistance, and this united Imperial and Bavarian army, amounting to 50,000 men, penetrated without opposition into the Bohemian territory. All the Bohemian troops, which were scattered over Lower Austria and Moravia, they drove before them; every town which ventured to hold out was taken by storm; others terrified by the report of the punishment inflicted on these, voluntarily opened their gates; nothing in short interrupted the impetuous career of Maximilian. The Bohemian army, commanded by the brave Prince Christian of Anhalt, retired into the neighbourhood of Prague; where Maximilian offered him battle under the walls of the town.

The wretched condition in which he expected to find the army of the Insurgents, justified the rapidity of the Duke's movements, and assured him of success. Frederick's army did not amount to 30,000 men. Eight thousand of these were furnished by the Prince of Anhalt; 10,000 had been despatched by Bethlem Gabor to his assistance. An inroad of the Elector of Saxony upon Lusatia, had deprived him of the succours he had expected from that country, and from Silesia. The submission of the Austrian insurgents put an end to

all his hopes of assistance from that quarter. Bethlem Gabor, his most powerful ally, remained tranquil in Transylvania. The Union had betrayed his cause to the Emperor. Nothing remained to him but Bohemia itself; and this kingdom was alike deficient in inclination, unity, and courage. The Bohemian Magnates murmured at being subjected to German generals, and Count Mansfeld remained in Pilsen, at a distance from the camp, to avoid serving under Anhalt and Hohenlohe. The soldiers, in want of necessaries, became dispirited; and the want of discipline in the army occasioned the bitterest complaints among the peasantry. It was in vain that Frederick made his appearance in the camp, in the hope of animating the courage of the soldiers by his presence, and reviving the declining zeal of the Nobles by his example.

The Bohemians had begun to entrench themselves on the White Mountain near Prague, when they were attacked by the United Imperial and Bavarian armies, on the 8th November 1620. In the commencement of the action, some advantages were gained by the cavalry of the Prince of Anhalt; but these were soon neutralized by the superior numbers of the enemy. The charge of the Bavarians and Walloons was irresistible. The Hungarian cavalry was the first to abandon the field. The Bohemian infantry soon followed their example; and the Germans were at last carried along with them in the general flight. Ten cannons, the whole of Frederick's artillery, fell into the enemy's hands; four thousand Bohemians fell in the flight or the battle; while only a few hundred of the Imperialists and the troops of the League were kill-

ed. In less than an hour this decisive action was over.

Frederick was seated at table in Prague, while his army was thus destroyed beneath its walls. Anticipating no attack, he had that day ordered an entertainment. A messenger roused him from table, to point out to him from the walls this scene of slaughter. To enable him to decide, he requested a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours ; but eight was all the Duke of Bavaria would allow him. Frederick took advantage of these to fly from the capital by night, with his wife, and the officers of his army. This flight took place so hastily, that the Prince of Anhalt left behind him his most private papers, and Frederick his crown. " I know now what I am," said this unfortunate Prince to those who endeavoured to comfort him ; " there are virtues which we are taught only by misfortune ; and it is in adversity alone that princes learn to know themselves."

Prague was not entirely lost when Frederick had so weakly abandoned it. The light troops of Mansfeld were still in Pilsen, and had taken no share in the action. Bethlem Gabor might at this moment have commenced hostilities, and drawn off the Emperor's army to the Hungarian frontier. The vanquished Bohemians might rally. Sickness, famine, the inclemency of the weather, might wear out the enemy ; but all these hopes disappeared under the pressure of immediate apprehension. Frederick dreaded the inconstancy of the Bohemians, who might easily be tempted to purchase the Emperor's pardon, by surrendering the person of their Sovereign.

Thurn, and those of this party who were simi-

larly circumstanced, found it equally unadvisable to await their destiny within the walls of Prague. They retired to Moravia, and soon afterwards sought refuge in Transylvania. Frederick fled to Breslau, where he remained but a short time. He removed from thence to the court of the Elector of Brandenburg, and finally took shelter in Holland.

The battle of Prague had decided the fate of Bohemia. Prague surrendered next day to the conquerors ; the other towns followed the example of the capital. The States yielded an unconditional allegiance, and they were followed by Silesia and Moravia. The Emperor allowed three months to elapse, before instituting any inquiry into the past. Many who had fled in terror at first, reassured by this apparent clemency, appeared again in the capital. All at once, however, the storm burst forth ; forty-eight of the most active among the insurgents were arrested and tried by an extraordinary commission, composed of native Bohemians and Austrians : twenty-seven of these expired on the scaffold, and an immense number of the common people were executed. The absentees were summoned to appear, and, on their failing to do so, condemned to death for high treason, and violation of the Catholic Majesty, their estates confiscated, and their names affixed to the gallows. The property of deceased rebels was also seized. This tyranny might have been borne, while it affected individuals only, and while one was enriched by the ruin of another ; but the oppression which extended to the whole kingdom, without exception, was less tolerable. All the Protestant preachers were banished from the country ; the

Bohemians first, and afterwards those of Germany. Ferdinand tore the Letter of Majesty with his own hand, and burnt the seal. Seven years after the battle of Prague, the toleration of the Protestant religion within the kingdom was at an end. But while he permitted himself these acts of violence against these religious privileges, he affected to regard their political constitution ; and while he deprived them of the liberty of thought, he magnanimously permitted them to tax themselves.

The victory of the White Mountain put Ferdinand in possession of all his dominions. He even received them with greater powers than his predecessors, since their allegiance had been unconditionally pledged to him, and no Letter of Majesty now existed to limit his sovereign authority. The object of all his wishes had been attained, and attained beyond his most sanguine expectations.

It was now in his power to dismiss his allies, and disband his army. The war was ended, if justice was his object, and if magnanimity was to be united with justice, so was the punishment. The fate of Germany was in his hands ; the happiness and misery of millions were dependent on his resolution. Never was a more important trust placed in a single hand ; never was the blindness of one individual productive of more fatal consequences.

HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

BOOK II.

THE resolution which Ferdinand now embraced gave a new direction, a new scene, and new actors to the drama of war. From the contest in Bohemia, and the punishment of its rebels, a war extended first to Germany, and afterwards to Europe. It may be proper therefore, at this period, to glance at the general state of affairs in Germany and the rest of Europe.

Unequally as the territory of Germany and the privileges of its members were divided among the Catholics and the Protestants, each party could only maintain its ground against the other by the maintenance of a prudent unity, and by availing itself to the utmost of the peculiar advantages it possessed. If the Catholics were the more numerous, and the more favoured by the constitution

of the empire, the Protestants, on the other hand, had the advantage of possessing a continuous tract of populous districts, princes zealously attached to their faith, a warlike nobility, numerous armies, flourishing free towns, the command of the sea, and even in the worst event, the certainty of support from the members of their own party in Catholic states. If the Catholics could arm Spain and Italy in their favour; the Venetian Republic, Holland and England, opened their treasures to the Protestants; while the States of the North, and the formidable power of Turkey stood ready to assist them. Brandenburg, Saxony, and the Palatinate, opposed three Protestant to three Catholic votes in the Electoral College; while to the Elector of Bohemia, as to the Archduke of Austria, the possession of the Imperial dignity was a check of some consequence, if the Protestants knew properly how to avail themselves of its importance. The sword of the Union might confine within its sheath the sword of the League; or if a war became unavoidable, might suspend for a long time the issue of the contest. But private interests unfortunately destroyed the band of union which should have united the political members of the empire. This critical conjuncture met with no corresponding great mind among the actors on the political scene; and the decisive moment was neglected, because those who had the courage, had not the power to avail themselves of it; and those who had the power, were deficient in unity, courage and resolution.

The services of his ancestor Maurice, the extent of his territories, and the weight of his influ-

ence, placed the Elector of Saxony at the head of the Protestants of Germany. The fate of the contending parties seemed to depend upon the resolution he might embrace ; and John George was not insensible to the advantages he derived from the authoritative situation in which he was placed. An equally important acquisition either for the Emperor or the Protestant Union, he cautiously declined to commit himself completely with either party ; and neither chose to trust entirely to the gratitude of the Emperor, nor avail himself of the advantages which he might have obtained by practising on his apprehensions. Uninfluenced by the current of religious and romantic enthusiasm, which swept off one Sovereign after another, to risk their crown and life on the hazard of war, John George aspired to the more solid renown, of preserving and improving his territories by a prudential course. If his cotemporaries accused him of forsaking the Protestant cause in its distresses ; of preferring the aggrandizement of his house to the safety of his country ; of exposing the whole Protestant church of Germany to ruin, by refusing to raise an arm in defence of the Calvinists ; of injuring the common cause more deeply by his suspicious friendship, than he could have done by his open enmity ; it would have been well if his accusers had imitated the wise policy of the Elector. If, notwithstanding the prudent policy, the Saxons, like every other, had reason to regret the cruelties that attended the Emperor's progress ; if all Germany was a witness how Ferdinand deceived his confederates and violated his promises ; if even the Elector himself at last perceived his mistake ; the more shameful was the conduct of the Emperor,

who betrayed so basely the confidence reposed in him.

If the Elector of Saxony was thus bound by misplaced confidence in the Emperor, and the hope of aggrandizing his territories, the weak Elector, George William of Brandenburg, was still more shamefully fettered by fear of Austria, and of the loss of his own dominions. The very policy with which these princes were reproached, would have preserved to the Elector Palatine his fame and his kingdom. A rash confidence in his untried strength, the influence of French counsels, and the seductive glitter of a Crown, had impelled that unfortunate Prince into an enterprise, to which neither his genius nor his political powers was at all proportioned. By the partition of his territories, and the bad understanding which subsisted among their possessors, the power of the palatinate was enfeebled, which, if wielded by a single hand, would have rendered the issue of the war for a long time doubtful.

This partition of territory was equally injurious to the princes of the House of Hesse; and religious dissensions had occasioned a fatal division between Darmstadt and Cassel. The line of Darmstadt, adhering to the confession of Augsburg, had placed itself under the Emperor's protection, who favoured it at the expense of the Calvinists of Cassel. While his religious confederates were shedding their blood for their faith and their liberties, the Landgrave of Darmstadt was in the pay of the Emperor. But, true to the principles of his ancestors, who had undertaken, a century before, the defence of the freedom of Germany against the formidable Charles V., William of Cassel es-

poused the cause of danger and of honour. Superior to that pusillanimity, which subjected so many princes, more powerful than himself, to the overruling influence of Ferdinand, the Landgrave William was the first to join the hero of Sweden, and to set an example to the princes of Germany, which all had hesitated to give. The courage of his resolve was equalled by the steadfastness of his perseverance and the bravery of his actions. He placed himself with unshrinking resolution before his bleeding country, and boldly confronted the fearful enemy, whose hands were still reeking from the carnage of Magdeburg.

The Landgrave William deserves to descend to immortality, with the heroic race of Ernest. The day of vengeance for the unfortunate John Frederick was long delayed, but it rose brightly at last ; and his heroic principles were found united with better fortune in his descendants. An intrepid race of princes issued as it were from the Thuringian forests, to efface, by their illustrious actions, the unjust sentence which deprived him of his electoral dignity ; to appease his offended shade by the sacrifice of many victims. The sentence of a conqueror could take from him his territories, but could not quench that spirit of patriotism with which he had staked his all in the cause of honour, nor that chivalrous courage, which a century afterwards was destined to shake the throne of his oppressor. His cause and that of Germany consecrated the sword which was drawn by his descendants against the race of Hapsburg ; and from hand to hand was bequeathed the inheritance of his wrongs and his revenge. The duty which they could not fulfil as sovereigns, they executed as men ;

they died in a glorious cause, as the champions of liberty. Too weak to meet the enemy in the field with their own unassisted strength, they endeavoured to direct against them the energies of other powers, and to move to victory under foreign banners.

The liberties of Germany, thus abandoned by the more powerful States, whose prosperity depended upon it, was defended by a few princes, who were comparatively uninterested in the event. The possession of territories and dignities seemed to deaden their energies; the want of both produced heroes. While Saxony, Brandenburg, and the rest drew back in terror, Anhalt, Mansfeld, the prince of Weimar and others were risking their lives in the field. The Dukes of Pomerania, Mecklenburg, Luneburg, and Wirtemberg, and the free cities of Upper Germany, to whom the name of *Emperor* was of course a formidable one, avoided a contest with such an opponent, and submitted, though not without murmuring, to his overwhelming power.

Austria and the Catholic party in Germany, possessed in Maximilian of Bavaria a protector equally prudent and powerful. Adhering throughout the whole course of this war to one fixed plan, never divided between his religion and his political interests; not the slavishly dependent of Austria, which was labouring for *his* advantage, and trembling even at the power which was employed for its protection; Maximilian was indebted to these, and not to mere good fortune, for the territories and dignities that rewarded his exertions. The other Catholic States which were chiefly Ecclesiastical, too unwarlike to resist the multitudes

who were allured by the prosperity of their territories became the victims of the war one after another, and were contented to persecute in the cabinet and in the pulpit, the enemy whom they could not openly oppose in the field. All of them slaves either to Austria or Bavaria, sunk into insignificance by the side of Maximilian ; in his hand alone their united power could be rendered available.

The formidable monarchy which Charles V. and his son had unnaturally united, comprising the Netherlands, Milan, and the two Sicilies, and the extensive possessions in the East and West Indies, under the administration of Philip III. and Philip IV. was verging to its decline. Exalted to a sudden degree of greatness by the possession of unfruitful treasures, this power was now under the influence of a visible decay, deprived as it was of agriculture, the natural support of States. The conquests in the West Indies had reduced Spain itself to poverty, while they enriched the markets of Europe ; the bankers of Antwerp, Venice, and Genoa, were negotiating with the gold which was still buried in the mines of Peru. For the sake of India, Spain had been depopulated, while the treasures drawn from thence were wasted in the reconquest of Holland, in the chimerical project of changing the succession to the crown of France, and in an unfortunate attack upon England. But the pride of this court had survived its greatness, as its animosity had outlived its power of oppression, and Terror still brooded over the forsaken Den of the Lion. Distrust of the Protestants suggested to the ministry of Philip III. the dangerous state policy of his father ; and the reliance of the Catholics in Germany on Spanish assistance, was as firm

as their belief in the miraculous legends of the martyrs. External splendour concealed the inward wounds which were wasting the life of this monarchy; and the belief of its strength remained, because it still maintained the high tone which it had held in its better days. Slaves in their palaces, and strangers even upon their own throne, the Spanish nominal kings still gave laws to their German relations; though it may be doubtful if the support they afforded was worth the dependence by which the Emperors purchased their assistance. The fate of Europe was decided behind the Pyrenees by ignorant monks or interested favourites. Yet, even in its debasement, such a power must always be formidable; a power which yielded to none in extent, which through custom, if not from the steadfastness of its views, adhered unalterably to one system of policy; which possessed well disciplined armies and consummate generals; which did not scruple to employ the dagger where the sword failed; and converted even its ambassadors into incendiaries and assassins. What it had lost in three quarters of the globe, it now endeavoured to regain to the eastward, and all Europe was at its mercy, if its long cherished views were successful, and a junction with the hereditary dominions of Austria between the Alps and the Adriatic could be effected.

During the violent troubles which prevailed in those States, this formidable power had gained a footing in the country, where its continual and persevering encroachments gave the neighbouring sovereigns reason to tremble for their possessions. The Pope himself was in the most dangerous situation, hemmed in between the Spanish Viceroy of

Naples on the one side, and that of Milan upon the other. Venice was confined between the Austrian Tyrol, and the Spanish territories in Milan. Savoy was surrounded by the latter, and by France. Hence arose that wavering and equivocal policy, which had been pursued by the Italian States from the time of Charles V. The double part which the Popedom had to perform, occasioned a perpetual vacillation between two contradictory systems of policy. If the successors of St Peter found in the Spanish Princes their most obedient disciples, and the most steadfast supporters of the Papal See, yet in their character of Ecclesiastical sovereigns, they had in these princes their most dangerous neighbours, and most formidable opponents. If in the one capacity, the destruction of the Protestants, and the triumph of Austria, were the objects of their wishes, on the other, they had reason to rejoice at the successes of the Protestants, which deprived a dangerous enemy of the means of offence. The one or the other sentiment prevailed, according as the desire of temporal dominion, or zeal for Ecclesiastical supremacy, predominated in the mind of the Pope. But the policy of Rome was, on the whole, directed to immediate dangers: And it is a well known principle, that the apprehension of losing a present good, generally operates far more powerfully on the mind, than anxiety to regain a possession of which we have been long deprived. Thus the conduct of the Pope becomes intelligible; in first combining with Austria for the destruction of heresy, and then conspiring with these very heretics for the destruction of Austria. How strangely blended are the threads of human affairs! What would have been the fate of

the Reformation, and of the liberties of Germany, if the spiritual and temporal interests of the Pope, as Bishop and Sovereign, had been united?

France had lost with its great Henry its importance, and its weight in the political balance of Europe. A turbulent minority had ruined all the good effects which had resulted from the able administration of Henry. Weak ministers, the creatures of intrigue and court favour, squandered in a few years the treasures which had been amassed by the economy of Sully, and the frugal expenditure of Henry. Scarce able to maintain their ground against internal factions, they were compelled to abandon all influence on the political affairs of Europe. The same civil war which armed Germany against itself, excited a similar commotion in France; and Louis XIII., on attaining majority, found himself involved in a war with his own mother and his Protestant subjects. That party, which had been kept in subjection by Henry's enlightened policy, now seized the opportunity to take up arms, and, under the command of some adventurous leaders, to form themselves into a party within the State, and to fix on the strong and powerful town of Rochelle as the capital of their intended kingdom. Too little of a statesman to be able to suppress this civil commotion in its birth, by a prudent toleration, and too little master of the strength of his kingdom to be able to use it with energy, Louis XIII. now saw himself subjected to the degrading necessity of purchasing the submission of the rebels by large sums of money. Though policy might incline him, in one point of view, to assist the Bohemian insurgents against Austria, the son of Henry the Great was now compelled to be an in-

active spectator of their destruction, and to esteem himself fortunate, if the Calvinists in his own dominions were not inspired by the same sentiments of resistance which animated their confederates beyond the Rhine. A great mind at the helm of State would have reduced the Protestants in France to obedience, while it supported the liberties of their German brethren: But Henry the IV. was no more, and Richelieu had not yet revived his system of policy.

While the glory of France was thus upon the wane, the liberated republic of Holland was completing the fabric of its greatness. The enthusiastic incitement had not yet subsided by which the House of Orange had converted this mercantile people into a nation of heroes, and had enabled them to maintain their independence in a bloody war against the Spanish monarchy. Aware how much their own liberation was owing to foreign support these republicans were eager to assist their German brethren in a similar object, and this the more readily, that both were opposed to the same enemy, and that the liberty of Germany was the best safeguard for that of Holland. But a republic, which was still contending for its own existence, which, with all its wonderful exertions, was scarce able to make head against the formidable enemy within its own territories, could not be expected to prefer magnanimity to prudence, and to expend, in the services of other countries, the strength which was necessary for the protection of its own.

England too, though now united with Scotland, no longer possessed, under the weak administration of James, that influence over the affairs of

Europe which the ascendancy of Elizabeth had procured for it. Convinced that the welfare of her dominions depended on the security of the Protestants, this prudent princess had never swerved from the principle of supporting every undertaking which had for its object the diminution of the Austrian power. Her successors were equally deficient in capacity to comprehend, and strength to execute, her views. While the economical Elizabeth threw open her treasury to support the Flemings against Spain, and Henry IV. against the League, James abandoned his daughter, his son-in-law, and his grandchild, to the mercy of an unrelenting conqueror : While he exhausted his learning to deduce the origin of majesty from Heaven, he allowed his own dignity to sink into the dust : While he laboured by his rhetoric to prove the absolute right of kings, he reminded the English nation of theirs ; and by a useless profusion, sacrificed his most important prerogative—that of dispensing with his parliament—and thus silencing the voice of freedom. An innate horror at the sight of a naked sword intimidated him from entering on any war, however just ; while his favourite Buckingham practised on his weakness, and his own vanity and self-conceit rendered him an easy dupe of Spanish imposture : while the affairs of his son-in-law were ruined, and the inheritance of his grandson alienated in Spain, this weak prince was imbibing, with satisfaction, the incense which was offered to him by Austria and Spain. To divert his attention from the German war, he was amused with the proposal of a Spanish marriage for his son, and he himself encouraged him in the romantic project of paying his addresses in person

to the Spanish princess. But his son lost his bride, as his son-in-law had done the crown of Bohemia and the Palatine Electorate ; and death alone saved him from the danger of closing his pacific reign by a war at home, which he had never had courage to maintain, even at a distance.

The civil commotions which his misgovernment had gradually excited, burst forth under his unfortunate son, and compelled him to relinquish, after some unimportant attempts, all participation in the German war, in order to oppose the rage of faction within his own kingdom, and at last to fall a victim to its fury.

Two illustrious monarchs, unequal in personal reputation, but alike in power and desire of fame, at this time attracted the attention of the North. Under the long and active reign of Christian IV., Denmark had risen into a State of some importance. The personal qualifications of this prince, an excellent navy, disciplined troops, well ordered finances and prudent alliances, had combined to promote the internal prosperity and external importance of this monarchy. Sweden had been rescued from vassalage by Gustavus Vasa, who had bestowed upon it a wise system of legislation, and had introduced, for the first time, this newly organized State into the field of European politics. The outline, which had been rudely traced by this great Prince, was filled up by his still greater grandson Gustavus Adolphus.

Both kingdoms, formerly unnaturally united and enfeebled by this union, had been violently separated at the time of the Reformation, and this separation was the epoch from which their prosperity is to be dated. Injurious as this compulsory

union had been to both kingdoms, mutual friendship and harmony were equally indispensable to them in their state of separation. On both the Evangelical church relied ; both had the same Seas to protect ; one interest united them against the same enemy. But the hatred which had dissolved the original connexion of these monarchies, long continued to influence the two nations which had always been opposed to each other. The Danish kings could not abandon their pretensions to the Swedish crown, nor the Swedes forget the tyranny of Denmark. The contiguous boundaries of the two kingdoms were a constant subject of national quarrels, while the watchful jealousy of both kings, and the unavoidable collision of their commercial interests in the North Seas, afforded an inexhaustible source of dispute.

Among the means by which Gustavus Vasa, the founder of the Swedish monarchy, endeavoured to give permanence to his new creation, the Reformation had been one of the most powerful. A fundamental law of the kingdom excluded the adherents of Popery from all offices of the State, and prohibited every future sovereign of Sweden from altering the religious constitution of the kingdom. But the second successor of Gustavus had relapsed into Popery, and his son Sigismund, also King of Poland, had been guilty of measures equally dangerous to the constitution and the reigning church. The States, headed by Charles Duke of Sudermania, the third son of Gustavus, made a courageous resistance, which terminated, at last, in an open civil war between the uncle and nephew, and between the King and the people. Duke

Charles, protector of the kingdom during the absence of the King, had availed himself of Sigismund's long residence in Poland, and the well-founded displeasure of the States, to ingratiate himself with the nation, and gradually to prepare his way to the throne. His views were not a little forwarded by Sigismund's imprudent measures. A general Diet ventured to abolish the rule of primogeniture which Gustavus had established in the succession, in favour of the Protector, and placed the Duke of Sudermania on the throne, from which Sigismund, with his whole posterity, were solemnly excluded. The son of the new King (who had reigned under the name of Charles IX.) was Gustavus Adolphus, whom the adherents of Sigismund refused to recognise, and affected to treat as the son of a usurper. But as the obligations between the sovereign and the subject are reciprocal, and States are not to be transferred from hand to hand like a lifeless heirloom, a nation thinking and acting with unanimity, must have the power and the right of renouncing their allegiance to a sovereign, who has violated his obligations to them, and of filling his place by another more worthy of his elevation.

Gustavus Adolphus had not completed his seventeenth year, when the Swedish throne became vacant by the death of his father: But the early maturity of his genius induced the States to abridge in his favour the legal period of minority. He commenced, by a victory over himself, a career which was to continue and to end in glory. The young Countess of Brahe, the daughter of a subject, had gained his early affections, and he had seriously resolved to share with her the throne

of Sweden. But, constrained by the influence of time and circumstances, he made his attachment yield to his higher duties as a King, and heroism and glory again assumed the exclusive possession of a heart which was not destined by nature to narrow its sympathies within the limits of domestic happiness.

Christian the IV. of Denmark, who had ascended the throne before the birth of Gustavus, had made an inroad into the territories of Sweden, and had gained some considerable advantages over the father of that hero. Gustavus Adolphus hastened to put an end to this destructive war, and by prudent sacrifices obtained a peace, which enabled him to turn his arms against the Czar of Muscovy. He never expended the blood of his subjects in unjust wars, to purchase the equivocal fame of a conqueror ; but he had determined never to shrink from a just one. His arms were successful against Russia, and Sweden augmented by several important provinces on the east.

In the meantime, Sigismund of Poland retained against the son the same sentiments of hostility with which he had regarded his father ; and left no artifice untried to shake the allegiance of his subjects, to excite indifference among his friends, and to increase the unrelenting hostility of his enemies. Neither the great qualities of his antagonist, nor the daily proofs of devotion which Sweden gave to her youthful monarch, could extinguish in this infatuated prince the hope of regaining the throne which he had lost. All Gustavus's proposals of peace were rejected with disdain : and he now saw himself unwillingly, but unavoidably, involved in a tedious war with Po-

land, which ended at last, by his obtaining possession of the whole of Livonia and Polish Prussia. Though constantly victorious, Gustavus Adolphus was always the first to make proposals of peace.

This contest between Sweden and Poland took place about the commencement of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, with which it is in some measure connected. It was enough that Sigismund, himself a Catholic, was contending for the Swedish crown against a Protestant prince, to procure for him the active support of Spain and Austria: while a double relationship to the Emperor gave him a still stronger claim to his protection. It was his reliance on this powerful assistance which principally induced the King of Poland to continue the war, which had terminated so fatally for him, and the Courts of Madrid and Vienna were lavish of high-sounding promises. While Sigismund lost one place after another in Livonia, Courland, and Prussia, he saw his allies in Germany advancing, at the same time, to unlimited dominion, by an uninterrupted train of conquest. No wonder then if his aversion to peace kept pace with the extent of his losses. The vehemence with which he pursued his chimerical schemes, blinded him to the artful policy of his confederates, who only wished to occupy the Swedish hero at his expense, in order to overturn, without opposition, the liberties of Germany, and then to seize on the exhausted North as an easy conquest. But a circumstance, on which they had not calculated,—the heroic spirit of Gustavus, destroyed this deceitful policy. An eight years' war in Poland, so far from exhausting the power of

Sweden, had only served to mature the military genius of Gustavus, to inure the Swedish army to warfare, and insensibly to introduce that system of military tactics, by which they afterwards performed such exploits in Germany.

After this necessary digression on the situation of the European States at that period, I now resume the thread of my History.

Ferdinand had regained his dominion, but had not recovered the expense which their conquest had caused him. A sum of forty millions of florins, which the confiscations in Bohemia and Moravia had placed in his hands, would have sufficed to reimburse himself and his allies for their losses; but this enormous sum soon ran to waste among the Jesuits and his favourites. Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, to whose victorious arm the Emperor was almost entirely indebted for the recovery of his dominions, who, in the cause of religion and the Emperor, had sacrificed his near relation, had the strongest claims on his gratitude; and in a treaty which the Duke had concluded with the Emperor, before the commencement of the war, he had expressly stipulated for indemnification of his expenses. Ferdinand felt the whole weight of the obligation imposed upon him by this treaty, and by these services, but he was not inclined to fulfil his promise at his own cost. His purpose was to bestow a brilliant reward upon the Duke without injuring his own interest: and this could not be done better than at the expense of the unfortunate prince who, by his revolt, had given the Emperor a right to punish him, and whose offences might be painted in colours strong enough to jus-

tify the violent action which he meditated, by an appearance of law. Frederick then was to be farther persecuted, and his ruin completed, that Maximilian might be rewarded; and a new war commenced to defray the expenses of the old.

But a still more important motive combined to increase the force of the first. Till now, Ferdinand had been contending only for his existence; he had fulfilled no duty save that of self-defence. But now when victory enabled him to act with freedom, he recollected what he believed to be his higher duty—the fulfilment of the vow which he had made to the Virgin at Loretto and Rome, to extend her worship even at the risk of his crown and life. With this object, the oppression of the Protestants was inseparably connected; and no state of circumstances could be more favourable for its attainment, than those which presented themselves at the close of the Bohemian war. Neither the power, nor a pretext of right, were now wanting to enable him to place the Palatinate in the hands of the Catholics, a change, the importance of which to the Catholic interest in Germany was incalculable: and thus in rewarding the Duke of Bavaria with the spoils of his relation, he at once gratified his meanest feelings, and fulfilled his most exalted duties: he crushed an enemy whom he hated; and saved his avarice from a painful sacrifice, while he believed he was laying up treasure in heaven.

The ruin of Frederick had been resolved upon in the Emperor's cabinet, long before fortune had decided against him; but it was only after this event that they ventured to direct against him the thunders of arbitrary power. A decree of the Emperor,

destitute of all the formalities required in such cases by the Imperial constitution, placed the Elector, and three other princes who had borne arms for him at Silesia and Bohemia, as traitors to the Emperor, and disturbers of the public peace, under the ban of the empire, and deprived them of their dominions and dignities. The execution of this sentence against Frederick, namely, the forcible occupation of his territories, was, with an equal contempt of law, committed to Spain as Sovereign of the Circle of Burgundy, to the Duke of Bavaria and the League. Had the Evangelic Union been worthy of the name it bore, and of the cause which it defended, invincible obstacles might have been opposed to the execution of the sentence ; but it was hopeless for a power too weak to resist even the Spanish troops in the lower Palatinate, to contend against the united strength of the Emperor, Bavaria, and the League. The sentence of proscription pronounced upon the Elector soon detached the free cities from the Union ; and the princes were not long in following their example. Esteeming themselves sufficiently fortunate in preserving their own dominions, they abandoned the Elector, their former chief, to the Emperor's mercy, renounced the Union, and resolved never to revive it again.

But, while the German princes thus meanly deserted the unfortunate Frederick, and Bohemia, Silesia and Moravia, submitted to the Emperor, a single man, a soldier of fortune, whose wealth consisted in his sword, Ernest Count Mansfeld, bade defiance to the whole power of the Emperor in the Bohemian town of Pilsen. Left without assistance after the battle of Prague by the Elec-

tor, to whom he had devoted himself, uncertain if Frederick would even thank him for his perseverance, he alone for some time held out against the Imperialists, till his troops mutinied for want of pay, and sold the town to the Emperor. Undismayed by this blow, he immediately commenced new levies in the Upper Palatinate, and endeavoured to enlist the disbanded troops of the Union. A new army of 20,000 men was soon assembled under his banners; the more formidable to the provinces, which might be the object of its attack, because it could be maintained by plunder alone. Uncertain where this war might light, the neighbouring bishops trembled for their rich possessions, which offered a tempting prey to its ravages. But, pressed by the Duke of Bavaria, who now entered the Upper Palatinate as executor of the Imperial decree, Mansfeld was compelled to abandon this quarter. Eluding, by a successful stratagem, the pursuit of the Bavarian General Tilly, he suddenly appeared in the Lower Palatinate, and there exercised upon the bishopricks of the Rhine the severities he had meditated against those of Franconia. While the Imperial and Bavarian army thus overran Bohemia, the Spanish General Spinola had penetrated with a numerous army from the Netherlands into the Lower Palatinate, which, by the treaty of Ulm, the Union were entitled to protect. But their measures were so badly concerted, that one place after another fell into the hands of the Spaniards; and at last, when the Union was dissolved, the greater part of the country was in the possession of Spain. The Spanish General Corduba, who commanded these troops after the retreat of

Spinola, hastily raised the siege of Frankenthals, when Mansfeld entered the Lower Palatinate. But in place of expelling the Spaniards from this province, he hastened across the Rhine, to secure for his needy troops shelter and subsistence in Alsace. The open countries, by the march of these marauders, were converted into frightful deserts; and the cities purchased an exemption from plunder only by the payment of enormous contributions. Reinforced by this expedition, Mansfeld again appeared on the Rhine to cover the Lower Palatinate.

While such an arm was raised in his cause, the ruin of the Elector Frederick was not irretrievable. New prospects began to open to him, and misfortune raised up friends who had been silent during his prosperity. King James of England, who had looked on with indifference while his son-in-law lost the Bohemian Crown, was aroused from his insensibility, when the very existence of his daughter and grandson was at stake, and the victorious enemy ventured an attack upon the Electorate. Too late, he opened his treasures, and hastened to afford supplies of money and troops, first to the Union, which at that time was defending the Lower Palatinate, and afterwards to Count Mansfeld. By his means, his near relation, Christian King of Denmark, was induced to afford his active support. The approaching expiry of the truce between Spain and Holland likewise deprived the Emperor of all hope of supplies from the side of the Netherlands. The assistance which the Palatinate received from Transylvania and Hungary, was perhaps the most important of all. The cessation of hostilities between Gabor and the

Emperor was scarcely at an end, when this old and formidable enemy of Austria overran Hungary anew, and caused himself to be crowned King in Presburg. So rapid was his progress, that Boucquoi was obliged to evacuate Bohemia, to protect Austria and Hungary against Gabor. This brave General met his death at the siege of Neuhausel, as his equally brave companion Dampierre had fallen before Presburg. Gabor penetrated with resistless impetuosity into the Austrian territory; the old Count Thurn, and several of the Bohemian exiles, had united their hatred and their strength with this irreconcilable enemy of their own opponent. A vigorous attack on the side of Germany, while the Emperor was pressed by Gabor on that of Hungary, might have speedily retrieved the fortunes of Frederick; but, unfortunately, the Bohemians and Germans had always laid down their arms when Gabor took the field; and the latter was always exhausted at the very moment that the former had recovered their vigour.

Frederick, in the mean time, had not delayed to join his protector Mansfeld. He entered the Lower Palatinate in disguise, the possession of which was at that time disputed between Mansfeld and the Bavarian General Tilly; the Upper Palatinate having been for some time in the possession of the Emperor. A ray of hope arose for him as new friends came forward from the wreck of the Union. George Frederick, Margrave of Baden, a former member of the Union, had for some time been engaged in assembling a military force, which soon amounted to a considerable army. Its destination was kept a secret, till he suddenly took the field,

and joined Count Mansfeld; before taking this step, he had taken the precaution of resigning his margraviate to his son, in the hope of eluding, by this artifice, the Emperor's revenge, if his enterprise should be unsuccessful. His neighbour, the Duke of Wirtemberg, likewise began to augment his military force. The courage of the Palatine revived, and he laboured assiduously to renew the Protestant Union. It was now Tilly's turn to look to his own security; and he hastily summoned the Spanish troops, under Corduba, to his assistance. But, while the enemy was uniting his strength, the Margrave of Baden separated from Mansfeld, and was defeated by the Bavarian General near Wimpfen, (1622.)

An adventurer without money, the legitimacy of whose birth was even disputed, had come forward as the protector of a king, persecuted by his nearest relation, and abandoned even by his father-in-law. A sovereign had left the territory, where he reigned in peace, to tempt the hazard of war, for the possession of a country in which he was a stranger. Another soldier of fortune, poor in territorial possessions, but rich in illustrious ancestry, now undertook the defence of a cause which his predecessor seemed disposed to abandon in despair. Christian, Duke of Brunswick, administrator of Halberstadt, seemed to have borrowed from Count Mansfeld the secret of maintaining an army of 20,000 men without pay. Impelled by youthful presumption, and influenced partly by the wish of establishing his reputation at the expense of the Catholic Priesthood, whom he cordially detested, and partly by a thirst for plunder, he assembled a considerable army in Lower Saxony, under the

pretext of espousing the defence of Frederick, and of the liberties of Germany. "Friend to God, and Enemy to the Priesthood," was the motto he chose for his coinage, which was composed of church plate; and his conduct justified the device he had adopted.

The march of this banditti was marked, as usual, by the most frightful devastation. From the spoils of the chapters of Lower Saxony and Westphalia, they collected strength to plunder the bishoprics upon the Upper Rhine. Expelled from thence, both by friend and foe, the administrator approached to the town of Hoechst on the Maine, which he passed after a murderous conflict with Tilly, who attempted to dispute with him the passage of the river. With the loss of half his army, he reached the opposite bank, where he soon collected the remains of his troops, and at their head formed a junction with Count Mansfeld. Pursued by Tilly this united host threw itself into Alsace, as if to glean the scattered ears which had survived their first harvest of desolation. While the Elector Frederick followed, almost like a fugitive mendicant, the march of the army, which acknowledged him as its nominal sovereign, and availed itself of his name, his friends were busily endeavouring to effect a reconciliation between him and the Emperor. Ferdinand, in the meantime, took care not to deprive them of all hope of an amicable adjustment of their differences. Full of artifice and dissimulation, he pretended to be willing to enter into a negotiation, by which he hoped to damp their ardour in the field, and prevent them from driving matters to extremity. James I., still the dupe of Spanish policy by his imprudent and

impotent interference, contributed not a little to further the Emperor's schemes. Above all, Ferdinand insisted that Frederick should lay down his arms, if he was to appeal to his clemency; and James found this demand extremely reasonable. At his instigation, the Elector dismissed his only real defenders, Count Mansfeld and the Administrator, and awaited his destiny in Holland from the clemency of the Emperor.

Mansfeld and Duke Christian were now at a loss for some new pretext for prolonging hostilities; for, as the cause of the Elector had not set them in motion, his dismissal could not disarm them. War was their object, no matter for, or against whom. After some vain attempts by Count Mansfeld to be received into the Emperor's service, both marched into Lorraine, where the outrages committed by their soldiers spread terror even in the heart of France. Here they remained for some time, waiting in vain for an employer willing to purchase their services; till the Dutch, pressed by the Spanish General Spinola, offered to take them into pay. After a bloody contest with the Spaniards at Fleurus, where the latter endeavoured to intercept them, they reached Holland, where their appearance immediately compelled the Spanish General to raise the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. But even Holland was soon weary of these unwelcome guests, and availed herself of the first moment of breathing time, to dispense with their dangerous services. Mansfeld recruited his troops for new enterprises in the fertile province of East Friesland. Duke Christian, passionately enamoured of the Electress Palatine,

with whom he had become acquainted in Holland, and more disposed for war than ever, led back his troops into Lower Saxony, bearing that Princess's glove in his hat, and on his standards the motto, "All for God and Her." Neither of these adventurers had as yet completed their part in this war.

All the Imperial territories were at last freed from the enemy; the Union at an end; the Margrave of Baden, Duke Christian, and Count Mansfeld, driven from the field, and the Palatinate overrun by the executive troops of the empire. Mannheim and Heidelberg were in possession of Bavaria, and Frankenthals was shortly afterwards ceded to the Spaniards. The Palatine, in a distant corner of Holland, awaited the disgraceful permission to appease, by abject submission, the vengeance of the Emperor; and an Electoral Diet was at last appointed to decide his fate. That fate, however, had been long before decided at the court of the Emperor; though circumstances now, for the first time, rendered it prudent to give publicity to the decision. After what had already taken place between the Elector and himself, Ferdinand believed that no sincere reconciliation could take place between them. The dangerous consequences of the violent course which he had commenced, could be avoided only by its completion. What was lost already, must remain so still. Frederick was never more to regain his dominions; and a prince without territory and without subjects, could no longer retain the Electoral dignity. If the Palatine had deeply offended against the House of Austria, the services of the Duke of Bavaria were not less distinguished. If the House of Austria

and the Catholic Church had so much to fear from the resentment and religious rancour of the Palatine family, they had every thing to hope from the gratitude and religious zeal of Bavaria. At length by the cession of the Palatine Electorate to Bavaria, the Catholic religion obtained a decisive preponderance in the Electoral College, and a permanent triumph in Germany.

The last circumstance was enough to induce the three Ecclesiastical Electors to favour this innovation ; and the single vote of Saxony was the only one of any importance among the Protestants. But could John George be expected to dispute with the Emperor this right, when resistance might have endangered the stability of his own electoral dignity ? To a prince placed by descent, dignity, and political power, at the head of the Protestant church in Germany, nothing, it is true, could apparently be a more sacred consideration than the protection of the rights of that church against the Catholics. But the question here was not whether the interests of the Protestant religion were to be supported against the Catholics, but which of two religions equally detested, the Calvinist and the Catholic, was to obtain a triumph over the others ; to which of the two enemies, equally dangerous, the possession of the Palatinate was to be awarded ; and in this opposition of duties, it was natural that the event should be determined by private enmity, and private interests. The born protector of the liberties of Germany, and of the Protestant religion, encouraged the Emperor to exert his imperial prerogative in the case of the Palatinate ; and to be under no apprehensions from the resistance which Saxony, for the sake of ap-

pearances, might oppose to his measures. If the Elector afterwards was inclined to retract this consent, Ferdinand himself occasioned this change of opinion, by his expulsion of the Evangelical preachers from Bohemia ; and the transference of the Palatine Electorate to Bavaria, ceased in the eyes of the Elector to be illegal, as soon as Ferdinand was prevailed upon to cede Lusatia to Saxony, on payment of a consideration of six millions of dollars, as the expenses of the war.

Thus, in defiance of the Protestants of Germany, and in open violation of the fundamental laws of the empire, which, by his coronation oath, he had sworn to observe, did Ferdinand solemnly invest the Duke of Bavaria with the Palatinate at Ratisbon ; though reserving, as he said, the rights which the relations or descendants of Frederick might afterwards establish to it. That unfortunate prince thus saw himself irrevocably excluded from his dominions, without having been even heard before the tribunal which condemned him—a privilege which the law allows to the meanest subject, and even to the most atrocious criminal.

This violent step at last opened the eyes of the King of England ; and as the negotiations for the marriage of his son with the Princess of Spain, were now to be broken off, James now began seriously to espouse the cause of his son-in-law. A revolution in the French ministry had raised Cardinal Richelieu to the head of affairs, and this fallen kingdom soon began to find that a great mind was again placed at the helm of state. The attempts of the Spanish Viceroy in Milan to gain possession of the Valteline, and thus to form a junction with the Austrian hereditary dominions

in that quarter, revived the former dread of that power, and with it the state policy of Henry the Great. The marriage of the Prince of Wales with Henrietta of France, cemented still more closely the connection between the two crowns; and in this alliance, Holland, Denmark, and some of the Italian States were included. The plan proposed was, to expel Spain by force of arms from the Valteline, and to compel the Emperor to reinstate Frederick; but only the first of these designs was seriously prosecuted. James I. died, and Charles I. engaged in disputes with his own Parliament, had no attention to bestow on the affairs of Germany. Savoy and Venice withheld their assistance; and the French minister thought it necessary to reduce the French Huguenots to subjection at home, before he ventured to assist the Protestants in Germany against the Emperor. Thus the hopes which had been formed from this alliance, were only equalled by the disappointment caused by its event.

Count Mansfeld, deprived of all support, remained inactive on the Lower Rhine; and Duke Christian of Brunswick, after an unsuccessful campaign, was a second time driven out of Germany. A premature inroad of Bethlem Gabor upon Moravia, frustrated, like all the rest, by the want of support from the Germans, terminated in a formal peace with the Emperor. The Union was no more; no Protestant prince was longer in arms; and on the frontiers of Lower Germany, the Bavarian General Tilly, at the head of a victorious army, overawed the Protestant States. The movements of the Duke of Brunswick had drawn him

into this quarter, and even into the circle of Lower Saxony, when he made himself master of the Administrator's magazines at Lippstadt. The necessity of watching this enemy, and preventing him from new inroads, was the pretext assigned for continuing his stay in the country. But, in truth, Mansfeld and Duke Christian had both disbanded their armies from want of money, and Count Tilly had no enemy to fear. What then was the motive for burdening the country with his presence?

It is a difficult task to discern the voice of truth amidst the uproar of contending parties ; but it was matter for serious alarm, that the League did not lay down its arms, when the nominal object for which they had been assumed was accomplished. The premature rejoicings of the Catholics, too, were calculated to increase these apprehensions. The Emperor and the League stood armed and victorious in Germany, without a power to oppose them, if they were inclined to attack the Protestant States, and to violate the religious treaty. Had Ferdinand been really indisposed to abuse his conquests, the defenceless situation of the Protestants was calculated to suggest the temptation. Obsolete treaties could be no obstacle to a Prince who thought that religion was entitled to all his exertions, and considered the violence of the means as justified by the sanctity of the end. Upper Germany was already overpowered. Lower Germany alone might oppose some obstacles to his despotic authority. Here the Protestants still predominated ; the Catholics had been forcibly deprived of most of their chapters, and the present appeared a favourable moment for recovering these lost possessions of the Church. A great part of

the strength of the Lower German princes consisted in these Chapters; and the pretence of restoring to the Church the property of which it had been deprived, afforded an excellent pretext for weakening the power of these princes.

Their negligence would have been unpardonable, had they remained inactive in this imminent danger. The remembrance of the outrages which the army of Tilly had committed in Lower Saxony was too recent, not to excite the States to their defence. The circle of Lower Saxony hastily betook itself to arms. Extraordinary contributions were levied, troops collected, and magazines filled. Negotiations for subsidies were set on foot with Venice, Holland, and England. The masters of the Sound and the Baltic, the natural allies of this Circle, would not look on with indifference, while the Emperor treated the Saxons as a conqueror, and established himself as their neighbour on the shores of the North Sea. The double interest of religion and State policy excited them to oppose his progress in Lower Germany. Christian the IV., King of Denmark, as Duke of Holstein, was himself a prince of this circle; and considerations equally powerful induced Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden to join this confederacy.

Both these Kings contended for the honour of defending Lower Saxony, and of opposing the formidable power of Austria. Each offered to raise a numerous army, and to lead it in person against the enemy. His victorious campaigns against Moscow and Poland justified the promises of the King of Sweden. The fame of Gustavus was known along the whole shores of the Baltic. But the fame of his rival excited the envy of the Danish monarch;

and the more success he promised himself in the coming campaign, the less he was disposed to allow these laurels to be reaped by his competitor. Both laid their pretensions and plans before the English ministry, and Christian IV. finally succeeded in obtaining the preference to his rival. Gustavus Adolphus, for his own security, had demanded the possession of some places of strength in Germany, where he himself had no territories, to afford his troops a place of refuge in case of need. Christian IV. possessed Holstein and Jutland, through which, in the event of his being defeated, he could always secure a retreat.

Eager to anticipate his competitor, the King of Denmark hastened to take the field. Appointed Generalissimo of the Circle of Lower Saxony, he had soon an army of 60,000 men under his command; the Administrator of Magdeburg, and the Dukes of Brunswick and Mecklenburgh, entered into an alliance with him. The promised assistance of England, and the possession of so large a force, flattered him with the prospect of terminating the war in a single campaign. At Vienna, it was reported that the only purpose of this preparation was to protect the Circle, and defend the peace of the country. But negotiations with Holland, England, and even France, the extraordinary exertions of the Circle, and the formidable army which it had raised, seemed to embrace something more than defensive operations, and to have in view the complete restoration of the Elector Palatine, and the total humiliation of the Austrian power.

After the Emperor had in vain resorted to negotiations, exhortations, orders, and threats, to in-

duce the King of Denmark, and the Circle of Lower Saxony to lay down their arms, hostilities commenced, and Lower Germany became the theatre of war. Count Tilly, marching along the left bank of the Weser, took possession of all the passes as far as Minden. After an unsuccessful attack on Nieuburg, he crossed the river and overran the principality of Calemberg, in which he quartered his troops. The King acted on the right bank of the river, and spread his forces over the territories of Brunswick; but having weakened his army, by the extent of his detachments, he could not engage in any enterprise of importance with the remainder. Aware of the superiority of his adversary, he avoided a decisive action as anxiously as the Bavarian general sought it.

With the exception of the troops from the Spanish Netherlands which had poured into the Lower Palatinate, the Emperor had hitherto made use only of the arms of Bavaria and the League in Germany. Maximilian conducted the war, and was executor of the imperial sentence, and Tilly, who commanded the army of execution, was in the service of Bavaria. All the Emperor's superiority in the field was owing to Bavaria and the League; all his success and his consequence was in their hands; and his dependence on their favour, but ill agreed with the extensive schemes, which this brilliant commencement of the war had induced the court of Vienna to form.

The League had no doubt shown itself active in the Emperor's defence, with which its own welfare was connected; but it was not to be expected that they would enter with the same complaisance into his views of conquest. Or, if they still continued

to lend their armies for that purpose, there was too great reason to fear, that they would communicate to the Emperor nothing but a share of the general hatred which they occasioned, while they appropriated to themselves the advantages of the campaign. A formidable army under his own orders could alone free him from this debasing dependence upon Bavaria, and restore to him his former preponderance in Germany. But the Austrian territories were too much exhausted by war to be able to sustain the enormous expense of such an armament. In these circumstances, nothing could be more welcome to the Emperor than the proposal unexpectedly made to him by one of his officers.

This was Count Wallenstein, an experienced officer, and the richest nobleman in Bohemia. He had been in the service of the House of Austria from his earliest youth, and had distinguished himself in several campaigns against the Turks, Venetians, Bohemians, Hungarians, and Transylvanians. At the battle of Prague he was present as colonel; and afterwards as major-general had defeated a Hungarian army in Moravia. The Emperor's gratitude was proportioned to these services, and a considerable portion of the estates confiscated after the Bohemian insurrection, rewarded his exertions. Possessed of immense property, excited by ambitious views, confident in his own good fortune, and still more encouraged by the existing state of circumstances, he offered, at his own expense and that of his friends, to raise and clothe an army for the Emperor, and even undertook to spare the Emperor the cost of maintaining it, if he was allowed to augment it to 50,000 men. The project was universally ridiculed as the chimerical

offspring of a visionary brain ; but the attempt would be richly rewarded if the promise was even partially fulfilled. Some circles in Bohemia were assigned to him as depots, with the permission to choose his officers. In a few months he had assembled an army of 20,000 men ; with which he left the Austrian territories ; he soon afterwards appeared on the frontiers of Lower Saxony with 30,000. The Emperor had lent this armament nothing but his name. The reputation of the general, the prospect of promotion, and the hope of plunder, assembled adventurers from all quarters of Germany beneath his standards ; and even sovereign princes, excited by desire of glory or of gain, now offered to raise regiments for the service of Austria.

For the first time in this war an Imperial army appeared in Germany ; an ominous appearance for the Protestants, and scarcely more acceptable to the Catholics. Wallenstein had orders to unite his army with the troops of the League, and in conjunction with the Bavarian general, to attack the King of Denmark. But long jealous of Tilly's reputation, he showed no disposition to share with him the laurels of this campaign, or to allow his own fame to be obscured by the lustre of that of his rival. His plan of operations assisted that of the latter, but was entirely independent of it. As he wanted those resources from which Tilly supplied the wants of his army, he was under the necessity of leading his troops into fertile countries which had as yet escaped the ravages of war. Neglecting the orders he had received to form a junction with the army of the League, he marched into the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, and at

Dessau made himself master of the Elbe. The countries on both sides of this river now lay open to his contributions ; he could from thence assail the King of Denmark in the rear, or, if necessary, could force a passage into the territories of that prince.

Christian IV. was fully sensible of the danger of his situation between these two numerous armies. He had already taken into his service the administrator of Halberstadt, who had shortly before returned from Holland ; he now also openly declared for Count Mansfeld, whom he had hitherto refused to recognise, and supported him to the best of his ability. Mansfeld richly requited this service. He alone kept at bay the army of Wallenstein upon the Elbe, and prevented it from uniting with that of Tilly, and falling upon the King of Denmark. Notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, this intrepid General even approached the bridge of Dessau, and ventured to entrench on the opposite side before the Imperial lines. But attacked in the rear by the whole force of the Imperialists, he was obliged to yield to superior numbers, and to abandon his post with the loss of 3000 men. After this defeat, Mansfeld retired into Brandenburg, where he soon recruited his army by reinforcements ; and suddenly turned into Silesia, with the view of penetrating from thence into Hungary ; and, in conjunction with Bethlem Gabor, carrying the war into the heart of Austria. As the Austrian hereditary dominions in that quarter were entirely unprotected against such an enemy, Wallenstein received immediate orders to leave the King of Den-

mark behind, and to stop if possible the progress of Mansfeld through Silesia.

The diversion of the army of Wallenstein, which had been effected by the movement of Mansfeld, enabled the King to detach part of his forces into Westphalia, to take possession of the Bishoprics of Munster and Osnaburg. To prevent this, Tilly suddenly left the Weser; but the movements of Duke Christian, who threatened the territories of the League with an inroad in the direction of Hesse, recalled him as suddenly from Westphalia. In order to avoid being cut off from these provinces, and to prevent a dangerous junction between the Landgrave of Hesse and the enemy, Tilly hastily seized on all the tenable posts on the Werha and Fulda, and secured himself in Minden, at the entrance of the Hessian Mountains, and at the confluence of these rivers with the Weser. He soon made himself master of Göttingen, the key of Brunswick and Hesse, and was meditating a similar attempt upon Nordheim, to prevent which, the King advanced upon him with his whole army. After furnishing the place with all necessary supplies for sustaining a long siege, he endeavoured to open a new passage through Eichsfeld and Thuringia, into the territories of the League. He had already gained Duderstadt, when Tilly by rapid marches overtook him. As the army of Tilly, reinforced by some of Wallenstein's regiments, was superior in numbers to his own, the King retreated towards Brunswick to avoid a battle. But Tilly incessantly harassed his retreat, and after three days skirmishing, he was at last obliged to await the enemy near the village

of Lutter in Barenberg. The Danes began the attack with great bravery, and their intrepid Monarch three times led them in person against the enemy; but at last, the superior numbers and discipline of the Imperialists prevailed, and the General of the League obtained a complete victory. The Danes lost sixty standards, and their whole artillery, baggage, and ammunition. Several officers of distinction, and about 4000 soldiers were killed in the field; and several companies of foot, who had taken refuge in the town-house of Lutter, laid down their arms and surrendered to the conqueror. The King fled with the cavalry, and soon collected the wreck of his army which had survived this defeat. Tilly pursued his victory, made himself master of the Weser, and of the territories of Brunswick, and drove the King back into Bremen. Rendered more cautious by defeat, the latter now stood upon the defensive; and determined at all events to prevent the enemy from crossing the Elbe. But while he threw garrisons into every tenable place, he reduced his own diminished army to inactivity; and his scattered corps were defeated and dispersed one after another by the enemy. The troops of the League, completely master of the Weser, extended themselves along the Elbe and Havel, and drove the Danes in all directions before them. Tilly himself crossed the Elbe, and penetrated with his victorious troops into the territories of Brandenburg, while Wallenstein on the other side entered Holstein, to remove the seat of war to the King's own territories.

This general had just returned from Hungary, whither he had pursued Mansfeld without being

able to obstruct his march, or prevent his junction with Bethlem Gabor. Constantly persecuted by fortune, but always superior to his fate, he had made his way against endless difficulties, through Silesia and Hungary to the Prince of Transylvania, to whom, however, he was by no means a very welcome guest. Relying upon assistance from England, and a powerful diversion in Lower Saxony, Gabor had again broken the truce with the Emperor. And now, instead of the expected diversion, Mansfeld had drawn upon him the whole army of Wallenstein, and required from him the pecuniary aid which he had expected him to bring. The want of concert which pervaded the Protestant counsels, abated Gabor's zeal, and he hastened, as usual, to avert the coming storm by a speedy peace. Firmly determined however to break it, with the first ray of hope, he directed Count Mansfeld to apply to Venice for supplies in the meantime.

Cut off from Germany, and unable to support the wreck of his army in Hungary, Mansfeld sold his artillery and military furniture, and disbanded his soldiers. He himself, with a few followers, proceeded through Bosnia and Dalmatia towards Venice, anticipating new enterprises and new successes; but his career was ended. Fate, which had assigned to him a restless life, now prepared for him a peaceful grave in Dalmatia. He died in the vicinity of Zara in 1626. A short time before died the faithful companion of his fortunes, Christian Duke of Brunswick; two men, who would have been worthy of immortality, had they been as superior to their times as they were to their fortunes.

The King of Denmark, while his army was complete, had been unable to cope with Tilly alone ; it could not therefore be expected that with his diminished force he should be able to make head against the two Imperial generals. The Danes abandoned all their posts on the Weser, the Elbe and the Havel, and the army of Wallenstein poured like a torrent into Brandenburg, Mecklenburg, Holstein, and Silesia. That general, too proud to act in conjunction with another, had despatched the General of the League across the Elbe, apparently to watch the motions of the Dutch in that quarter ; but in reality that he himself might have an opportunity of terminating the war against the King, and of reaping for himself the harvest of Tilly's conquests. Christian had now lost all his fortresses in the German States, with the exception of Gluckstadt ; his armies were defeated or dispersed ; from Germany there was no hope of assistance ; from England little consolation ; while his confederates in Lower Saxony lay at the mercy of the conqueror. The Landgrave of Hesse Cassel had been compelled by Tilly, soon after the battle of Lutter, to abandon the Danish alliance. The formidable appearance of Wallenstein before Berlin reduced the Elector of Brandenburg to submission, and compelled him to recognise Maximilian's legitimate title to the Electorate. The greater part of Mecklenburg was now overrun by Imperial troops ; and both Dukes, as adherents of the King of Denmark, placed under the ban of the empire, and expelled from their territories. The protection of the German liberties against the illegal attempts of the Emperor, was treated as a crime deserving to be visited with the loss of their

dignities and territories; and yet this was but a prelude to the violent acts which shortly afterwards followed.

It was now evident in what manner Wallenstein proposed to fulfil his extravagant promises. He had learned the secret from Count Mansfeld; but the scholar surpassed his master. Acting on the principle that war must be supported by war, Mansfeld and Duke Christian of Brunswick had supplied the wants of their troops by contributions levied indiscriminately from friend and foe; but this predatory life was attended with all the inconvenience and insecurity which accompany robbery. Like a fugitive banditti they were obliged to make their way through watchful enemies, embittered by their outrages; to hurry from one side of Germany to another, to watch their opportunity with anxiety, and to abandon the most fertile territories on the approach of a superior army. If Mansfeld and Duke Christian had done so much, in spite of these obstacles, what might be expected now when these obstacles were removed; when the army raised was numerous enough to overawe the most powerful single state in the empire; when the name of the Emperor insured impunity to every act of violence; in short, when the same system was to be acted on, under the highest authority in the empire, and at the head of an overwhelming force, which these two adventurers had practised on their own responsibility, and supported only by an undisciplined and irregular multitude.

This was what Wallenstein had in view when he laid his bold project before the Emperor,—a proposal which it was now obvious, was not extrava-

gant or chimerical. The more his army was augmented, the less difficulty he experienced in subsisting them, because their strength enabled him at once to bear down the opposition of the refractory States ; the more violent their outrages, the more likely they were to escape with impunity. Towards hostile States, his oppression might be coloured by an appearance of right ; towards such as were favourably disposed, by the plea of necessity. The inequality too which attended the operation of this system of oppression prevented any dangerous union among the States ; while the exhausted state of their territories deprived them of the means of exertion. Thus the whole of Germany became as it were a magazine for the Imperial Army, and the Emperor was enabled to deal with the other States as absolutely as with his own hereditary dominions. The clamour for redress became incessant before the Imperial throne ; but the Emperor conceived he had nothing to fear from the revenge of the injured princes, so long as they appealed to him for justice. The general discontent was divided between the Emperor, who had lent his name to these acts of violence, and the general who exceeded his power, and openly abused the authority of his master. They applied to the Emperor for protection against the outrages of his general ; but Wallenstein had no sooner seen himself absolute in the army, than he threw off his obedience to his sovereign.

The exhausted state of the enemy gave room to hope for a speedy peace ; yet Wallenstein continued to augment the Imperial armies until they amounted to at least 100,000 men. Innumerable commissions of colonelcies and inferior offices, a re-

gal pomp, immoderate largesses to his favourites (for his gifts were never less than a thousand florins), enormous sums lavished in maintaining his influence at the Court of Vienna; all this had been effected without burdening the Emperor. These immense sums had been raised by the contributions levied from the lower German provinces, where no distinction was made between friend and foe; and the territories of all princes were subjected to the same system of marching and quartering, of extortion and outrage. If credit is to be given to a hasty calculation made at this period, Wallenstein during his seven years command, had raised not less than 60,000 millions of dollars by contributions from one half of Germany. The greater his extortions, the more his supplies increased, and his army augmented, for the world always follows fortune. His armies flourished in proportion as the States through which they passed were withered by their ravages. What cared their leader for the curse of provinces, and the complaint of princes? His army adored him, and the extent of his guilt itself had enabled him to bid defiance to its consequences.

It would be doing injustice to Ferdinand, if he were to be considered as chargeable with all these irregularities. Had Ferdinand known that he was abandoning the German States to the mercy of his general, he could not have been insensible of the danger of investing him with so absolute an authority. The closer the connection became between the army, and the leader on whom they depended for favour and fortune, the more the ties which united both to the Emperor were relaxed. Every thing, it is true, was done in name of the latter;

but Wallenstein availed himself of the Imperial authority, only that he might be enabled to crush the other States of Germany. His principle was to depress the princes of the empire, to destroy all gradation of rank between them and the Emperor, and to elevate the power of the latter above all competition. Were the Emperor once recognised as absolute in Germany, who would then be the equal of the man to whom he intrusted the execution of his will? The height to which Wallenstein had raised the Imperial authority astonished even the Emperor himself; but as the greatness of the master was entirely the work of the servant, the creation of Wallenstein sunk into nothing, as soon as the support of its founder was withdrawn. It was not without reason, therefore, that Wallenstein laboured to inflame the minds of the German Princes against the Emperor. The more violent that hatred, the more indispensable would the Emperor find the services of the only man who could render their indignation harmless. His design, unquestionably was, that his Sovereign should be independent of every authority in Germany, except that of him to whom he was indebted for this despotic sovereignty.

One step towards this was, the demand which Wallenstein now made for the possession of his late conquest of Mecklenburg, as a pledge for repayment of the supplies he had advanced to the Emperor during the preceding campaign. Ferdinand had already created him Duke of Friedland, apparently with the view of exalting the authority of his own general over that of Bavaria; but Wallenstein's ambition was not to be satisfied with an ordinary reward. It was in vain that this new de-

mand, which could be granted only at the expense of two princes of the empire, was actively resisted in the Imperial Council ; in vain did the Spaniards, who had long been offended by his pride, oppose his elevation. The powerful support which Wallenstein had purchased, by his bribes, among the Imperial Councillors prevailed, and Ferdinand was determined, at whatever cost, to attach to himself a man whose services he found to be indispensable. The heirs of one of the oldest German houses were expelled their hereditary dominions for a slight offence, that a creature of the Emperor might be enriched by their spoils (1628).

Wallenstein now began to assume the title of Generalissimo of the Emperor by sea and land. The town of Wismar was taken, and a firm footing gained on the Baltic. Ships were required from Poland and the Hans Towns to carry the war to the other side of the Baltic ; to pursue the Danes into their own country, and to compel them to a peace, which would only be preliminary to further conquests. The connexion between the Lower German States and the northern powers would be dissolved, could the Emperor succeed in placing himself between them, and surrounding Germany, from the Adriatic to the Sound, (the intervening kingdom of Poland being already dependant on him), with a connected chain of territory. If such was the Emperor's plan, Wallenstein had a peculiar interest in its execution. These possessions on the Baltic he intended as the foundation of a power, the establishment of which had long been the object of his ambition, and which would have enabled him to assert his independence of his sovereign.

To effect this purpose, it was of the utmost importance to gain possession of the town of Stralsund, in the Baltic. The excellence of its harbour, and the shortness of the passage from thence to the Swedish and Danish coasts, rendered it peculiarly fit for a war station in a contest with these powers. This town, the sixth of the Hanseatic League, enjoyed the most important privileges under the Duke of Pomerania, and having remained entirely neutral, had taken no share in the Danish war. But neither its neutrality, nor its privileges, could protect it against the encroaching disposition of Wallenstein, when he had once made its possession the object of his views.

The proposal which he made, of placing in the town an Imperial garrison, had been firmly and honourably rejected by the magistracy; and his deceitful request, of being allowed to march his troops through the town, has been likewise refused. Wallenstein, therefore, now preposed to besiege it.

It was of equal importance to both the northern monarchs to maintain the independence of Stralsund, without which the free navigation of the Baltic could not be preserved. Thus, their common danger at last prevailed over the private jealousies which had long divided these princes. In a treaty concluded at Copenhagen in 1628, they became bound to assist Stralsund with their united strength, and to oppose in common every foreign power which should enter the Baltic with hostile views. Christian IV. also threw a sufficient garrison into Stralsund, and animated, by his personal presence, the courage of the citizens. Some ships of war which Sigismund, King of Poland, had sent to the

assistance of the Imperial General, were sunk by the Danish fleet; and as Lubeck refused him the use of its shipping, the Imperial Generalissimo had not even ships enough to blockade the harbour of this single town.

Nothing could appear more chimerical than to attempt the conquest of a seaport town, completely fortified on all sides, without first shutting up its harbour. Wallenstein, however, who had hitherto experienced no resistance, wished to vanquish nature itself, and to perform impossibilities. Stralsund, open towards the sea, continued to be supplied with provisions and reinforcements; yet Wallenstein maintained his blockade on the land side, and endeavoured, by boasting menaces, to supply his want of real strength. "I will take this town," said he, "though it were fastened by a chain to the heavens." The Emperor himself, who might have suffered by an enterprise which was likely to be attended with no favourable issue, received with eagerness the offers of apparent submission made by the inhabitants, and gave orders to the general to retire from the town. Wallenstein despised the order, and continued to harass the besieged by incessant assaults. As the Danish garrison, already much reduced, was unequal to the fatigue of this prolonged defence, and the King was unable to detach any further troops to their support, Stralsund, with Christian's consent, threw itself under the protection of the King of Sweden. The Danish commander left the place, to make way for a Swedish governor, who defended the town with the most complete success. Wallenstein's good fortune forsook him before the town; and for the first time he experienced the

humiliation of abandoning his enterprise, after a fruitless siege of several months, and with a loss of 12,000 men, while the necessity to which he had reduced the town, of applying for protection to Sweden, was the means of effecting a close alliance between Gustavus Adolphus and Stralsund, which afterwards not a little facilitated the entrance of the Swedes into Germany.

Till now, the arms of the Emperor and the League had been successful, and Christian IV., vanquished in Germany, had been compelled to take refuge in his islands; but the Baltic put a period to the progress of the conquerors. Their want of ships not only prevented the further pursuit of the King, but endangered the possessions they had already acquired. The union of the two monarchs was peculiarly to be dreaded, because, while it continued, it effectually prevented the Emperor and his general from acquiring a footing on the Baltic, or effecting a landing in Sweden. But if they could succeed in dissolving this union, and still more in securing the friendship of the Danish King, they might with little difficulty overpower the insulated force of Sweden. The dread of the interference of foreign powers, the movements of the Protestants in his own States, and still more the storm which was gradually darkening along the whole of Protestant Germany, inclined the Emperor to peace, which his general, from very opposite motives, was equally desirous to effect. Far from being anxious for a peace which would reduce him from the meridian of his greatness and his glory, to the obscurity of private life, he wished only to change the theatre of war, and by this partial peace, to prolong the ge-

neral confusion. The friendship of Denmark, whose neighbour he had become by the acquisition of Mecklenburg, was most important for the success of his ambitious views; and he resolved, even by the sacrifice of his sovereign's interests, to secure its alliance.

By the treaty of Copenhagen, Christian IV. had expressly become bound to conclude no separate peace with the Emperor, without the consent of Sweden. Notwithstanding this engagement, however, Wallenstein's offer was readily received by him. At a congress held at Lubeck in 1629, from which Wallenstein, with studied insult, excluded the Swedish ambassadors who came to intercede for Mecklenburg, all the conquests taken by the Imperialists from the Danes were restored to them. The conditions imposed upon the King were, that he should interfere no farther with the affairs of Germany, than in his character of Duke of Holstein; that he should on no pretext encroach on the Chapters of Lower Germany, and leave the Dukes of Mecklenburg to their fate. Christian himself had been the means of involving these princes in the war with the Emperor; he now abandoned them, to gain the favour of the usurper of their territories. Among the motives which had excited him to a war with the Emperor, the restoration of the Elector Palatine his relation was not the least; yet the name of that unfortunate prince was not even mentioned in the treaty; while one of its articles recognised the legitimacy of the Bavarian election. Thus meanly and ingloriously did Christian IV. retire from the field.

Ferdinand had now for the second time the

peace of Germany in his own power ; and it depended on him alone whether the treaty with Denmark was to be the basis of a general peace. From every quarter he was assailed by the cries of the unfortunate who petitioned for a termination of their sufferings ; the cruelties of his soldiers and the rapacity of his officers had exceeded all bounds. Germany laid waste, first by the desolating bands of Mansfeld and the Duke of Brunswick, and then by the still more terrible hordes of Tilly and Wallenstein, lay exhausted, bleeding, wasted, and panting for repose. All the States of the empire were anxious for peace, the Emperor himself was not less so ; involved as he was in a war with France in Upper Italy, exhausted by his past warfare in Germany, and apprehensive of the day of reckoning which was to come. But unfortunately the conditions on which each of the religious parties was willing to sheath the sword, were contradictory to each other. The Catholics wished to terminate the war with advantage ; the Protestants were determined to close it without loss. The Emperor, instead of endeavouring to unite both parties by prudence and moderation, sided with one ; and thus Germany was again precipitated into the horrors of a destructive war.

From the close of the troubles in Bohemia Ferdinand had commenced a counter reformation in his hereditary dominions, which however was conducted with comparative moderation, from regard to some of the Protestant States. But the victories obtained by his generals in Lower Germany encouraged him to throw aside all reserve. He even intimated to all the Protestants in these dominions, that they must either abandon their religion, or

their native country,—a bitter and terrible choice, which excited the most violent commotions among his Austrian subjects. In the Palatinate, the Protestant religion had been suppressed immediately after the expulsion of Frederick, and the professors of this religion expelled from the University of Heidelberg.

These innovations were only the preludes to greater changes. In the Electoral Congress held at Mühlberg, the Catholics had required from the Emperor the restoration to the church of all the Archbishopricks, Bishopricks, mediate and immediate, Abbacies and Monasteries, which, from the date of the religious peace at Augsburg, had been taken possession of by the Protestants; in order to indemnify the Catholic States for the losses and oppressions they had suffered by the war. To a prince so strongly attached to the Catholic interests as Ferdinand, this hint was sufficient; but he still thought it would be premature to arouse the whole Protestants of Germany by so decisive a step. Every Protestant prince in the empire would be a sufferer by his acceding to the demand; for where the revenues of these church properties had not been actually applied to secular purposes, they were applied to the uses of the Protestant church. Many princes were indebted to this source for the greater part of their revenues and importance. All of them, without distinction, would be irritated by this demand for restoration. The religious treaty neither expressly deprived them of the right to these chapters, nor expressly conceded it to them. But a possession, which had now been maintained for nearly a century, the silence of four preceding Emperors, and the law of

equity which gave them an equal right with the Catholics, to those foundations which had been endowed by their common ancestors, might be strongly pleaded by them in support of their claim. Besides the actual loss which the surrender of these chapters would occasion to their power and authority, besides the inevitable confusion which would necessarily follow the measure; one important disadvantage resulting from it was, that by the restoration of the Catholic Bishops, the strength of that party would be increased by so many additional votes in the diet. Sacrifices of so serious a nature on the part of the Protestants, might of course be expected to be attended with the most violent resistance to the plans of the Emperor; and until the war in Germany should be extinguished, he had no wish to raise up against him a party formidable by its union, and headed by a powerful leader in the Elector of Saxony. He resolved therefore to try the experiment at first on a small scale, in order to ascertain how it was likely to succeed on a more extensive one. Some of the free cities in Upper Germany, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, received orders accordingly to surrender to the Catholics several of the chapters in their possession.

The state of circumstances in Saxony enabled the Emperor to make some bolder experiments in that quarter. In the Bishoprics of Magdeburg and Halberstadt, the Protestant canons had not hesitated to elect bishops of their own religion. Both bishoprics, with the exception of the town of Magdeburg itself, were now overrun by the troops of Wallenstein. It accidentally happened that Halberstadt was vacant by the death of the Adminis-

trator Duke Christian of Brunswick, and the Archbishoprick of Magdeburg, by the deposition of Christian William, a prince of the House of Brandenburg. Ferdinand availed himself of both circumstances, to restore the bishoprick of Halberstadt to a Catholic bishop, who was besides a prince of his own house. In order to avoid a similar compulsory election, the Chapter of Magdeburg hastened to elect a son of the Elector of Saxony as Archbishop. But the Pope, who assumed to himself the right of interfering in this matter, confirmed the appointment of the Austrian prince to the Archbishop of Magdeburg also; and men could not but admire the address of Ferdinand, who, amidst all his pious zeal for the church, thus contrived never to lose sight of the interests of his family.

At length, when the peace of Lubeck had delivered the Emperor from all apprehensions on the side of Denmark, and the Protestants in Germany seemed entirely at his mercy; the demands of the League becoming louder and more pressing, Ferdinand, in 1629, signed the Edict of Restitution, (afterwards distinguished by such disastrous consequences), which he had previously submitted to the approbation of four Catholic bishops. In the preamble he assumed to himself the right, in virtue of his Imperial authority, of interpreting the meaning of the religious treaty, the ambiguities of which had already been the cause of so much confusion, and of acting as supreme arbiter and judge between the contending parties. This right he founded upon the practice of his ancestors, and on the consent formerly given even by Protestant States.

Saxony had actually yielded this right to the Emperor ; and it now became evident how deeply injurious to the Protestant cause had been the dependence of this Court on the House of Austria. But if the literal meaning of the religious treaty was really exposed to a double interpretation, as the religious disputes of a whole century sufficiently showed, it was evident that the Emperor, who must be either a Protestant or a Catholic prince, and therefore a party interested, could not act as arbiter in the religious disputes of these contending parties, without violating an essential article of the religious peace. He could not be judge in his own cause, without reducing the liberties of the empire to an empty sound.

Having thus usurped the right of interpreting the treaty, Ferdinand pronounced the decision, "That every occupation of any chapter, mediate or immediate, by the Protestants, which had taken place after the date of this treaty, was contrary to its spirit, and should be recalled as a violation of it." He further decided, "That by the religious peace, Catholic proprietors of estates were no further bound than to allow their Protestant subjects full liberty to emigrate." In obedience to this decision all unlawful possessors of benefices, and all the Protestant States without exception, were ordered, under pain of the ban of the Empire, immediately to restore their usurped possessions to the Imperial commissaries.

Not less than two Archbishopricks and twelve Bishopricks were in this situation ; besides innumerable abbacies which had been seized on by the Protestants. The Edict was like a thunderbolt to the whole of Protestant Germany ; ter-

rible from the immediate injury it inflicted ; but yet more terrible from the future evils to which it appeared a prelude. The Protestants were now distinctly aware that the destruction of the religion and with that the ruin of the German liberties, had been resolved on by the Emperor and the Catholic League. No remonstrances were attended to ; the commissaries were named, and an army assembled to enforce obedience. The Edict was first put in force in Augsburg, where the original treaty had been concluded ; the city was again placed under the government of its bishop, and six Protestant churches in the town were shut up. The Duke of Wirtemberg was in like manner compelled to surrender his abbacies. This severity, though it alarmed the Protestant States, was yet insufficient to rouse them to an active resistance. Their fear of the Emperor's power operated too strongly, and already a great proportion of them began to think of quiet submission. The hope of attaining their end by peaceful measures, likewise induced the Catholics to delay the execution of the Edict for a year ; and this delay saved the Protestants ; before the expiry of that period the success of the Swedish arms had totally changed the face of affairs.

In an Electoral Diet held at Ratisbon, at which Ferdinand was present in person (in 1630), it was proposed that measures should be immediately taken for establishing a general peace in Germany, and for the removal of all grievances. Even on the part of the Catholics, these grievances were scarcely less numerous than on that of the Protestants, though Ferdinand flattered himself that he had gained over the members of the League

by the Edict of Restitution, and its leader by the gift of the Electoral dignity, and the cession of great part of the Palatinate. But the good understanding which subsisted between the Emperor and the Princes of the League, had been rapidly declining since the appearance of Wallenstein. Accustomed to give law to Germany, and to the Emperor, the haughty Elector of Bavaria now saw himself at once supplanted by the Imperial General, and his importance, and that of the League, completely annihilated. Another now arose to reap the fruit of his labours, and to bury his past services in oblivion. The imperious character of Wallenstein, who triumphed in despising the authority of Maximilian, and extending to an odious latitude that of the Emperor, tended not a little to increase the irritation of the Elector. Discontented with the Emperor, and distrustful of his intentions, he had entered into a league with France, which drew upon him the suspicions of the other princes of the League. The fear of the Emperor's plans of aggrandisement, and the pressure of existing evils, had extinguished among them all feelings of gratitude. Wallenstein's exactions had become altogether intolerable. Brandenburg estimated its losses at twenty, Pomerania at ten, Hesse Cassel at seven millions of dollars, and the rest in proportion. The cry for redress was loud, urgent, and universal; on this point Catholics and Protestants were agreed. The terrified Emperor was assailed on all sides by petitions directed against Wallenstein, and his ear filled with the most fearful descriptions of his outrages. Ferdinand was no barbarian. Though not innocent of the atrocities which were practised in Germany under the

shelter of his name, he was ignorant of their extent; and he did not hesitate, upon the representation of the princes, to disband eighteen thousand cavalry from his standing army. While this reduction took place, the Swedes were actively preparing for their expedition into Germany, and the greater part of the disbanded Imperialists enlisted under their banners.

The Emperor's concessions in this point only encouraged the Elector of Bavaria to bolder demands. His triumph over the Emperor was incomplete, while the Duke of Friedland retained the supreme command. The princes of the League were now to be revenged on Wallenstein for that haughtiness which they had all experienced without distinction. His dismissal was demanded by the whole college of electors, and even by Spain, with a degree of unanimity and urgency which astonished the Emperor. This unanimity and urgency, with which Wallenstein's enemies pressed for his dismissal, might have convinced the Emperor of the importance of his services. Wallenstein, informed of the cabals which were forming against him in Ratisbon, lost no time in opening the eyes of the Emperor to the real views of the Elector of Bavaria. He himself appeared in Ratisbon, with a pomp which exceeded even that of his master, and increased the hatred of his opponents.

The Emperor wavered long before coming to a decision. The sacrifice required of him was a painful one. He was entirely indebted to the Duke of Friedland for his superiority; he felt how much he lost in delivering him up to the indignation of the princes. But at this moment, unfor-

unately, he was under the necessity of conciliating the electors. He was now endeavouring to procure the election of his son Ferdinand, already chosen King of Hungary, as his successor in the empire ; and for this purpose the support of Maximilian was indispensable to him. This consideration appeared to him the most important, and he scrupled not at last to sacrifice his most valuable servant, to gain over the Elector of Bavaria.

Ambassadors from France were present at the Diet at Ratisbon, empowered to adjust the disputes which threatened to terminate in a war between the Emperor, and their Sovereign in Italy. Vincent, Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, had died without issue, and his next relation, Charles Duke of Nevers, had taken possession of this inheritance, without doing homage to the Emperor as liege Lord of that principality. Encouraged by the support of France and Venice, he persisted in his refusal to deliver up these territories into the hands of the Imperial Commissioners, until his right should be decided. Ferdinand, on the other hand, instigated by the Spaniards, (who as possessors of Milan were peculiarly alarmed by the neighbourhood of a vassal of France, and hoped to avail themselves of this opportunity of making additional conquests in Italy, with the assistance of the Emperor) took up arms. In spite of all the remonstrances of Pope Urban VIII. who anxiously wished to prevent a war in that country, he marched a German army across the Alps, the unexpected appearance of which threw the Italian states into consternation. His arms had at this time been successful throughout Germany, and the exaggerating influence of fear now awakened

in the minds of the Italians their old apprehension, that the Austrian projects of universal monarchy were about to be revived. The horrors which had attended the war in Germany were now re-acted in those favoured countries which are watered by the Po ; the town of Mantua was taken by storm, and the surrounding districts laid waste under the ravages of a lawless soldiery. The curse of Italy was thus added to the desolation with which the Emperor had been regarded in Germany ; and even in the Conclave itself, silent prayers were now offered up for the success of the Protestant arms.

Alarmed by the universal hatred which this Italian campaign had drawn upon him, and wearied out by the pressing instances of the Elector, who zealously supported the views of the French Minister, the Emperor yielded to the proposals of Francis, and promised the New Duke of Mantua the investiture.

This important service, on the part of Bavaria, of course, required an equivalent from France. The adjustment of the treaty gave the envoys of Richelieu a favourable opportunity of surrounding the Emperor during their residence in Ratisbon, with a web of the most complicated intrigues, of inflaming the discontented princes of the League still more strongly against him, and of turning all the negotiations of the diet to his disadvantage. For this purpose Richelieu had chosen an admirable instrument in the person of the Capuchin friar, Father Joseph, who accompanied the ambassadors, and who was the object of no suspicion. One of his first instructions was to promote assiduously the dismissal of Wallenstein. With the

general who had led them to victory, the Austrian armies would lose their chief strength; for whole armies could not supply the want of this single individual. It was, therefore, a master stroke of policy, at the very moment when a victorious monarch, the absolute master of his operations, was preparing to take the field against the Emperor, to deprive the Imperial armies of the only general who was his equal in ability and military experience. Father Joseph, who was in the interests of Bavaria, undertook to overcome the irresolution of the Emperor, who was now in a manner besieged by the Spaniards and the Electoral Council. "It would be expedient," he thought, "to gratify the Electors on this occasion, and thereby to facilitate his son's election to the Roman Crown. When this object was once gained, Wallenstein would always be ready to resume his former station." The artful Capuchin was too sure of his man to say any thing to shake this ground of consolation.

The voice of a monk was to Ferdinand II. the voice of God. "Nothing on earth," writes his own confessor, was more sacred in his eyes than the priesthood. If it could happen, he used to say, that an angel and a clergyman were to meet him at the same time and place, the clergyman should receive his first, and the angel his second obeisance." Wallenstein's dismissal was determined upon.

The Capuchin required this pious concession by negotiating against him at Ratisbon with such address, that his attempt to procure for the King of Hungary the dignity of King of the Romans, entirely failed. In an express clause of the treaty

which had been just concluded, the French ministers had become bound, in name of that monarchy, to preserve a complete neutrality towards the Emperor's enemies ; while Richelieu was actually negotiating at the time with the King of Sweden, instigating him to war, and pressing upon him the alliance of his master. He immediately disavowed the pretext as soon as it had served his purpose, and Father Joseph was confined to a convent for having exceeded his instructions. Ferdinand perceived, when too late, that he had been imposed upon. " A wicked Capuchin," he was heard to say, " has disarmed me by his rosary, and thrust six electoral caps into his cowl. "

Artifice and defect thus triumphed over the Emperor, at the moment when he was believed to be omnipotent in Germany, and actually was so in the field. With the loss of 18,000 men, and of a general who alone could supply the place of an army, he left Ratisbon, without having gained the object for which he made these sacrifices. Thus, before the Swedes had vanquished him in the field, Maximilian of Bavaria, and Father Joseph, had given a mortal blow to his affairs. It was at this memorable diet at Ratisbon that the war with Sweden was resolved upon, and that of Mantua terminated. Vain intercessions had been made, on the same occasion, by the Princes for the Dukes of Mecklenburgh ; and an application equally fruitless had been made by the English ambassadors for a pension to the Palatine Frederick.

Wallenstein was at the head of an army of nearly a hundred thousand men, by whom he was adored when the sentence of dismissal was announ-

ced to him. Most of the officers were his creatures :—his slightest hints were regarded as the law of fate by the common soldiers. His ambition was boundless, his pride indomitable, his imperious disposition incapable of brooking an injury without revenge. One moment was now to precipitate him from the height of grandeur into the obscurity of a private station. The execution of such a sentence against such a delinquent seemed a task scarcely less difficult and delicate than that of obtaining it. For this purpose, accordingly, two of Wallenstein's most intimate friends had been selected as heralds of these evil tidings, with instructions to soften them as much as possible, by assurances of the continuation of the Emperor's favour.

Wallenstein was perfectly aware of the nature of their message before the Imperial ambassadors made their appearance. He had time to collect himself, and his countenance exhibited an external calmness, while grief and rage were struggling in his bosom. He had predetermined to yield obedience to the mandate. The Emperor's decision surprised him before circumstances were ripe, or his preparations complete, for the bold measures he had contemplated. His extensive estates were scattered over Bohemia and Moravia; and by their confiscation, the Emperor might at once destroy the sinews of his power. He looked forward, therefore, to the future for his revenge;—a hope in which he was encouraged by the prophecies of an Italian astrologer, who led this imperious being like a child. Seni had read in the stars, that the brilliant career of his master was not yet ended: and that bright and glorious prospects still awaited

him. It was, indeed, unnecessary to consult the stars, to foretell the probability, that an enemy, such as Gustavus Adolphus, would render indispensable the services of such a general as Wallenstein.

"The Emperor is betrayed," said Wallenstein to the messengers; "I pity and forgive him. It is plain that the star of Bavaria rules. I grieve that he has sacrificed me so weakly, but I will obey." He dismissed the emissaries with rich presents; and, in a submissive letter addressed to the Emperor, besought the continuance of his favour, and of the dignities he had bestowed upon him.

The murmurs of the army were universal, on hearing of the dismissal of their general; and the greater part of his officers immediately quitted the Imperial service. Many followed him to his estates in Bohemia and Moravia; others he attached to him by pensions, in order to command their services when they should be required.

But repose was the last thing which Wallenstein contemplated when he returned to the stillness of private life. He surrounded himself, in his retreat, with a regal pomp, which seemed to set at defiance the degradation he had undergone. Six gates led to the palace he inhabited in Prague, and a hundred houses were pulled down to make way for his courtyard. Similar palaces were built on his other numerous estates. Gentlemen of the noblest houses contended for the honour of serving him, and even Imperial chamberlains resigned the golden key to the Emperor, to fill a similar office under Wallenstein. He maintained sixty pages, who were instructed by the ablest masters. His antichamber was always protected by fifty life

guards. His table never consisted of less than 100 covers, and his house-steward was a person of distinction. When he travelled, his baggage and suite accompanied him in a hundred waggons, drawn by six or four horses ; his court followed in sixty carriages, attended by fifty led horses. The pomp of his liveries, the splendour of his equipages, and the decorations of his apartments, were proportioned to the magnificence of his other establishment. Six barons, and as many knights, were in constant attendance about his person, and ready to execute his slightest order. Twelve patrols went their rounds about his palace, to prevent any disturbance. His ever-stirring spirit required to work in silence. The noise of coaches was not suffered to approach his residence, and the streets leading to it were frequently blocked up with chains. His own deportment was as silent as the approaches to his palace ; dark, reserved, and impenetrable, he was more sparing of his words than of his gifts ; while the little that he spoke was uttered in a harsh and unpleasing tone. He never smiled, and the coldness of his temperament rendered him proof against sensual temptations. Ever busied, ever brooding over wide-reaching projects, he rejected all those idle amusements in which others were wont to waste their lives. He kept up a correspondence throughout Europe, most of which was written with his own hand, that he might trust as little as possible to the secrecy of others. He was a man of large stature, thin, of a yellow complexion, with short and reddish hair, and small but sparkling eyes ; a gloomy and forbidding seriousness sat upon his brow ; and the

lavish profusion of his presents alone, could attach to him the trembling crowd of his dependents.

In this stately obscurity did Wallenstein silently, but not inactively, await the return of his good fortune, and the hour of his revenge ; and the victorious career of Gustavus Adolphus soon gave him a presentiment of its approach. Not one of his comprehensive plans had been abandoned ; and the Emperor's ingratitude had removed a burdensome obstacle to his ambition. The dazzling splendour of his private life betrayed the wide extent of his projects ; and he lavished his gifts with a regal profusion, as if he numbered those future acquisitions, which as yet existed only in hope, among his actual possessions.

After the dismissal of Wallenstein, and the invasion of Gustavus Adolphus, a new generalissimo was to be appointed ; and it now appeared necessary to intrust to one individual the command of the Imperial army, and that of the League, which had hitherto been kept separate. Maximilian of Bavaria laboured to obtain this appointment, which would have given him the complete command of the Emperor ; and this consideration influenced the Emperor not less strongly to procure the command for his eldest son, the King of Hungary. At last, in order to avoid displeasing either of the competitors or rival parties, the command was given to the Bavarian General Tilly, who now exchanged the Bavarian for the Austrian service. The Imperial army in Germany, after the retirement of Wallenstein, amounted to about 40,000 men ; that of the League, to nearly the same number, both commanded by excellent officers,

inured to war by several campaigns, and proud of a long series of victories. With such a force, little apprehension was entertained from the invasion of the King of Sweden, and the more particularly as Pomerania and Mecklenburg, the only countries through which he could penetrate into Germany, were already in their hands.

After the King of Denmark's unsuccessful attempt to check the progress of the Emperor, Gustavus Adolphus was the only prince in Europe from whom oppressed liberty could look for protection; the only one who was incited to the undertaking by the strongest political considerations, justified in the attempt by the injuries he had received, and fitted to conduct such an enterprise by his personal qualities. Important political motives, which he possessed in common with Denmark, had already induced him, before the commencement of the war in Lower Saxony, to offer his personal services and his army for the defence of Germany, though, unfortunately for himself, the claims of the Danish monarch had then been preferred to his. Since that time, the insolence of Wallenstein, and the despotic pride of the Emperor, had led them to adopt measures which must have been equally offensive to him as a man and as a king. Imperial troops had been despatched to the assistance of the Polish King Sigismund, to defend Prussia against the Swedes. When the King complained to Wallenstein of this act of hostility, he received for answer, "The Emperor has too many soldiers, he must employ them in the service of his friends." The Swedish ambassadors had been insultingly excluded by Wallenstein from the Congress with the Danes at Lubeck; and when

they were courageous enough to remain unmoved by this treatment, he had threatened them with violence, contrary to the law of nations. Ferdinand had also insulted the Swedish flag, and intercepted the king's despatches to Transylvania. He continued to throw every obstacle in the way of a peace betwixt Poland and Sweden, to support the pretensions of Sigismund to the Swedish throne, and to deny the right of Gustavus to the title of king. To the repeated remonstrances of Gustavus he had paid no attention, and rather aggravated the offence by the addition of new grievances, than endeavoured to remove it by atoning for the past.

So many personal motives, supported by so many important considerations, both political and religious, and seconded by the most pressing invitations from Germany, could not fail to make a forcible impression on a prince, who felt the more jealous of his royal dignity the more strongly it was contested; who was flattered by the prospect of the renown which he was likely to acquire as the protector of the oppressed, and passionately attached to war, as the native element in which his genius found its scope and exercise. But until a truce, or peace with Poland, should leave him at liberty to act with safety, a new and dangerous war could not be seriously determined on.

Cardinal Richelieu had the merit of effecting this truce with Poland. This great statesman, who with one hand guided the helm of Europe, while with the other he repressed the rage of faction, and the insolence of the grandees in France, pursued with unshaken calmness and perseverance, amidst the cares of a stormy administration, his plan of lowering the ascendancy of the House of

Austria. But existing circumstances opposed no inconsiderable obstacles to the execution of his designs; and even the greatest minds cannot venture with impunity to set at defiance the prejudices of the age. The minister of a Catholic king, and a cardinal of the Roman Church, the purple which he bore did not permit him, in conjunction with the enemies of that church, openly to attack a power which had the address to sanctify its ambitious encroachments in the eyes of the multitude under the name of religion. The external respect which Richelieu was obliged to show to the narrow views of his contemporaries, limited his political exertions to secret negotiations and endeavours to accomplish, by another hand, the projects which his own enlightened mind suggested. After in vain endeavouring to prevent the peace between Denmark and the Emperor, he had recourse to Gustavus Adolphus, the hero of his age. No exertion was spared to bring this monarch to a decision, and, at the same time, to facilitate to him the means of executing the design which he might adopt. Charnasse, an unsuspected emissary of the cardinal, appeared in Polish Prussia, where Gustavus Adolphus was then carrying on the war against Sigismund, and alternately visited these princes, in order to effect a truce, or peace, between them. Gustavus had been long inclined to it, and at last the French minister even succeeded in opening the eyes of Sigismund to his true interests, and to the deceitful policy of the Emperor. A truce for six years between the two kingdoms was agreed on, by which Gustavus was allowed to remain in possession of all his conquests, and obtained, what he had so long anxiously looked for, the

means of turning his arms against the Emperor. The French ambassador offered him the alliance of his sovereign in this enterprise, and subsidies of considerable importance. But Gustavus Adolphus was apprehensive, and not without reason, that by accepting this assistance, he might place himself in a state of dependence upon France, which might fetter him in his career of conquest, while his alliance with a Catholic power might excite distrust among the Protestants.

If the urgency and justice of this war were evident, not less promising were the circumstances under which it was undertaken by Gustavus. The name of the Emperor, it is true, was formidable, his resources apparently inexhaustible, his armies hitherto invincible; any other but Gustavus would have shrunk from so dangerous a contest. He foresaw the obstacles and dangers which opposed his undertaking, but he saw also the means by which he hoped to conquer them. His army, though not numerous, was well disciplined, inured to hardship by a severe climate and continual campaigns, and accustomed to victory in the war with Poland. Sweden, though poor in men and money, and taxed beyond its strength by the pressure of an eight years' war, was devoted to its monarch with an enthusiasm which assured him of the effectual support of his subjects. In Germany, the name of the Emperor was at least as much hated as feared. The Protestant princes appeared only to await the arrival of a deliverer to throw off his insupportable tyranny, and openly to declare for the Swedes. Even to the Catholic States, the appearance of a rival, whose opposition might controul the overwhelming influence of the Emperor,

could hardly be unwelcome. The first victory obtained in Germany would be decisive in favour of his cause, would induce those princes who still hesitated to declare themselves, strengthen the courage of his adherents, increase the number of his troops, and open to him rich resources for the continuation of the war. If the greater part of the German States had suffered from past oppression, the flourishing Hanse towns had as yet been exempted, and could not hesitate, by a voluntary partial sacrifice, to avert the general ruin. In proportion as the Imperialists were expelled from the different provinces, their armies, which drew their subsistence only from those countries in which they were encamped, must decrease. The strength of the Emperor had been farther diminished by ill-timed detachments of troops to Italy and the Netherlands; while Spain weakened by the loss of its American treasure-fleet, and engaged in an active war in the Netherlands, could afford him little support. Great Britain, on the other hand, gave the King of Sweden hope of considerable subsidies; and France, now at peace with itself, came forward with the most favourable offers of support in his undertaking.

But the strongest pledge for the success of his undertaking, Gustavus found in himself. Prudence required of him to secure every foreign means of assistance, and to save his undertaking from the imputation of rashness; but his confidence and courage were derived from his own mind alone. Gustavus was unquestionably the greatest general of his age, and the bravest soldier in the army which he himself had formed. Familiar with the tactics of Greece and Rome, he had

discovered a more effective system of warfare, which was afterwards adopted by the most distinguished generals of the time. He diminished the unwieldy and useless squadrons of cavalry, in order to render their movements more active and rapid; and, with the same views, he placed his battalions at a greater distance from each other. His army was composed of two lines instead of one, as was usually the case, that the second might advance in the event of the first giving way.

He made up for his want of cavalry, by placing infantry among the horse; a practice which frequently decided the victory. Europe first learned from him the importance of infantry in the field. All Germany was astonished at the strict discipline which distinguished the Swedish army in their territories; all outrages were punished with the utmost severity, particularly impiety, theft, gaming, and duelling. By the Swedish articles of war, frugality was strictly enjoined. Even the King's tent displayed neither silver nor gold. The eye of the leader was directed with the same vigilance to the morals of his soldiers, as to their martial bravery; every regiment was ordered to form a circle round its chaplain for morning and evening prayers. In all these points the King was at once the law-giver, and the most scrupulous observer of the law. A sincere and ardent piety exalted the courage by which he was animated. Equally free from the rude infidelity, which leaves the barbarian without a controlling principle of conduct,—and from the grovelling superstition of Ferdinand, who unnecessarily degraded himself before the Supreme Being, while he trampled unrelentingly on the necks of his fellow-men,—he still remained,

in the height of his success, a man and a Christian—in the height of his devotion, a king and a hero. The hardships of war he bore like the meanest soldier in his army ; amidst all the tumult and confusion of battle all was serenity within his mind ; his glance seemed omnipresent ; ever in the path of danger he forgot the perils by which he was surrounded. His natural vivacity indeed made him but too often forget the duty of a general ; till the life of a king ended in the death of a common soldier. But such a leader was followed alike by the coward and the brave, and his eagle glance marked every heroic deed which his example had inspired. The fame of their sovereign excited in the nation an enthusiastic sense of self-importance ; proud of their king, the peasant in Finland and Gothland joyfully contributed his pittance ; the soldier willingly shed his blood ; and the strong impulse which his single mind had communicated to the feelings of the nation long survived its creator.

Though the necessity of this war was evident, great doubts were entertained as to the manner in which it should be conducted. An offensive war appeared even to the resolute Chancellor Oxenstiern too daring a measure ; and the resources of his poor and conscientious master, too slender to bear any competition with those of a despotic sovereign, who held the whole of Germany in subjection. But these timid scruples of the minister were overruled by the more comprehensive penetration of the hero. “ If we await the enemy in Sweden,” said Gustavus, “ every thing is lost in the event of a defeat, every thing is gained by a fortunate commencement in Germany. The sea is wide, and we have extensive coasts in Sweden to

defend. If the enemy's fleet should escape us, or our own be defeated, it would be impossible to prevent the enemy's landing. Every thing depends on maintaining our possession of Stralsund. As long as this harbour remains open to us, we shall maintain our command of the Baltic, and secure a free retreat from Germany. But, if we are to protect this port, we must not remain in Sweden, but march at once with an army into Pomerania. Let us hear no more, then, of a defensive war, by which we sacrifice our greatest advantages. Sweden shall not be doomed to behold a hostile banner; if we are vanquished in Germany, it will be time enough to follow your plan."

Gustavus therefore resolved to cross the Baltic and attack the Emperor. The preparations for this enterprise proceeded with the utmost rapidity, and the measures adopted by Gustavus were not less prudent than the resolution itself was bold and magnanimous. Before engaging in so distant a war, it was necessary, in the first place, to secure Sweden against the attempts of its neighbours. Gustavus had secured the friendship of the King of Denmark, at a personal interview held with that monarch at Markaroed; his frontier was covered on the side of Moscow. Poland might be held in check from Denmark, if it appeared likely to infringe the truce. Falkenberg, a Swedish ambassador, who had travelled through the courts of Holland and Germany, obtained the most flattering promises from several Protestant princes, though none of them yet possessed courage or self-devotion enough to enter into a formal alliance with him. The

towns of Lubeck and Hamburg agreed to advance him money, and to accept of Swedish copper in return. Emissaries were even despatched to the Prince of Transylvania, to stir up that implacable enemy of Austria against the Emperor.

In the mean time, Swedish levies were commenced in the Netherlands and Germany, old regiments increased to their full complement, new ones raised, transports provided, a fleet fitted out, provisions, warlike stores, and ample supplies of money collected. Thirty ships of war were soon ready to be launched, an army of 15,000 men was raised, and 200 transports were ready to convey them across the Baltic. Gustavus Adolphus wished to lead no greater force into Germany, and even the maintenance of this force had already exceeded the revenues of his kingdom. But small as this army was, it was admirable in point of discipline, courage, and experience, and calculated to lay the foundation of a more powerful force, when it had once gained the German frontier, and its first attempts had been attended with success. Oxenstiern, at once general and chancellor, was placed with 10,000 men in Prussia, to protect that province against Poland. Some regular troops, and a considerable body of militia which served as a nursery for the principal army, remained in Sweden, to protect that country against any sudden invasion on the part of a treacherous neighbour.

These were the measures taken for the defence of the kingdom. The government was intrusted to the Council of State, and the finances to the Palatine John Casimir, the brother-in-law of the King, while his wife, tenderly as he was attached

to her, was excluded from all share in the government, for which she was incapacitated by her limited talents. He set his house in order like a dying man. On the 20th May 1630, when all his measures were arranged, and all the preparations for his departure completed, the King appeared in the Diet at Stockholm, to bid the States a solemn farewell. He took in his arms his daughter Christina, then only four years old, who had been acknowledged as his successor in the cradle, presented her to the States as the future sovereign, exacted from them a renewal of the oath of allegiance to her, in case he should never more return ; and then read the regulations which were to be observed in the kingdom during his absence, at the minority of his daughter. The whole assembly was dissolved in tears, and the King himself was some time before he could attain sufficient composure to deliver his farewell address to the States.

“ No light or trivial cause,” said he, “ induces me to involve myself and you in this new and dangerous war : God is my witness that *I* have not sought the contest. But the Emperor has outraged me in the most insulting manner in the person of my ambassador. He has supported my enemies, persecuted my friends and brethren, trampled my religion in the dust, and stretched his ambitious hand to grasp my crown. The oppressed States of Germany call loudly to us for aid, and, by the help of God, it shall be afforded them.

“ I am aware of the dangers to which my life will be exposed. I have never yet shrunk from these ; nor is it likely that I shall escape them all. Providence has hitherto protected me in a wonderful

manner, but I feel a presentiment that I shall die in defence of my country. I commend you then to the protection of heaven. Be just, be conscientious, act uprightly, and we shall meet again in eternity.

To you, my Counsellors of State, I address myself first. May God enlighten your understandings, and fill you with wisdom, that you may govern well and happily. For you too, my brave nobility, I entreat the divine protection. Continue to prove yourself the worthy successors of those Gothic heroes, whose bravery humbled to the dust the pride of ancient Rome. To you, ministers of religion, I recommend moderation and unity; be yourselves examples of the virtues which you preach, and never abuse your influence over the minds of my people. For you, deputies of the burgesses, and the peasantry, I also entreat the blessing of heaven: may your industry be rewarded by a prosperous harvest; your stores plenteously filled, your habitations abounding with all the blessings of this life. For the prosperity of all my subjects, absent and present, I offer my warmest prayers to heaven. I bid you all a sincere—it may be—an eternal farewell."

The embarkation of the troops took place at Elfsknaben, where the fleet lay at anchor; an immense concourse of spectators flocked thither to witness this magnificent and touching spectacle. The breasts of the spectators were moved by the most varied emotions, as they alternately considered the greatness of the hazard, or the greatness of the man by whom it was undertaken. Among the superior officers who commanded in this army were Gustavus Horn, the Rhinegrave Otto Lewis,

Henry Matthias Count Thurn, Ottenberg, Baudissen, Banner, Teufel, Tott, Mutsenfahl, Falkenberg, Kniphausen, and others who had already acquired reputation. The fleet, detained by contrary winds, was unable to sail till June, and on the 24th of that month reached the Island of Rugen in Pomerania.

Gustavus Adolphus was the first who landed. In the presence of his suite, he knelt on the shore of Germany, and thanked the Almighty for the preservation of his army and his fleet. He landed his troops on the Islands of Wollin and Usedom; the Imperial garrisons abandoned their entrenchments on their advance, and took to flight. He appeared with the rapidity of lightning before Stettin, in order to secure this important place before the appearance of the Imperialists. Bogislaus XIV. Duke of Pomerania, a weak and superannuated prince, had been long weary of the outrages committed by them within his territories; but too weak to resist, he had contented himself with murmuring at their oppressions. The appearance of his deliverer, instead of animating his courage, increased his fear and anxiety. Severely as his country had suffered from the atrocities of the Imperialists, he could not summon resolution openly to declare for the Swedes, and thereby to incur the risk of the Emperor's vengeance. Gustavus Adolphus, who had encamped under the cannon of the town, now summoned the city to receive a Swedish garrison. Bogislaus appeared in person in the camp of Gustavus, in order to prevail upon him to dispense with this demand. "I come to you," said Gustavus, "not as an enemy,

but a friend. I wage no war against Pomerania, nor against the German empire, but against the enemies of both. In my hands this Dutchy shall be sacred ; and it shall be restored to you at the conclusion of the campaign, by me, with more certainty, than by any other. Look to the Imperial force within your territories, and to mine in Usedom ; and then decide whether you will have the Emperor or me as your friend. What have you to expect if the Emperor obtain possession of your capital ? Will he deal with you more leniently than I ? Or is it your intention to stop my progress ? The case is pressing ; decide at once, and do not compel me to have recourse to more active measures. ”

The alternative was a painful one to the Duke of Pomerania. On the one side, the King of Sweden was before his gates with a formidable army ; on the other, the inevitable vengeance of the Emperor, and the fearful example of so many German princes, who were now wandering about the world, the miserable victims of that revenge, appalled him. The more immediate danger decided him at last. The gates of Stettin were opened to the King ; the Swedish troops entered ; and the Austrians, who were already advancing to it by rapid marches, were thus anticipated. The possession of Stettin procured for the King a firm footing in Pomerania, the command of the Oder, and a magazine for his troops. Bogislaus lost no time in excusing this step to the Emperor on the plea of necessity, and anticipating the charge of treachery which might be made against him ; but aware of the implacable disposition of this monarch, he entered into a close alliance with his

new protector, in order to secure himself from the vengeance of Austria, by his friendship with Sweden. By this alliance with Pomerania, Gustavus, on the other hand, secured a powerful friend in Germany, who covered his rear, and maintained his communication with Sweden.

As Ferdinand had been the aggressor in Prussia, Gustavus Adolphus thought himself absolved from the usual formalities in regard to him, and commenced hostilities without any declaration of war. He justified his conduct to the other European powers in a manifesto, in which the grounds which had led him to take up arms were detailed at length. Meanwhile he continued his progress in Pomerania, while his army daily increased. The troops which had fought under Mansfeld, Duke Christian of Brunswick, the King of Denmark, and Wallenstein, came in crowds, both officers and soldiers, to join his victorious standard.

The invasion of the king of Sweden at first excited far less attention at the Imperial Court than it afterwards appeared to deserve. The pride of Austria, elevated to an extravagant height by its unheard of successes, looked down with contempt upon a prince, who came with a handful of men from an obscure corner of Europe, and whose past successes, as they imagined, were owing entirely to the weakness of the enemy to whom he had been opposed. The degrading representation which Wallenstein had artfully given of the Swedish power, increased the Emperor's security; for what had he to fear from an enemy whom his general undertook to drive with such ease from Germany? Even the impetuous progress of Gustavus Adolphus in Pomerania, could not entirely dispel

this prejudice, which was assiduously kept up by the ridicule of the Imperial Court. He was called in Vienna the Snow King, who was kept together by the cold of the north, but who would infallibly melt in his progress towards the southward. Even the electors, who were assembled in Ratisbon, paid no attention to his representations; and, influenced by an abject complaisance to Ferdinand, refused him the title of king. But while he furnished matter for ridicule in Ratisbon and Vienna, one strong town after another fell into his hands in Mecklenburg and Pomerania.

Notwithstanding this apparent contempt, however, the Emperor still appeared willing to adjust his differences in Sweden by negotiation, and for that purpose, had actually sent plenipotentiaries to Denmark. But from their instructions, in which he still continued to refuse to Gustavus the title of King, it was evident how little he was in earnest in these proposals. His purpose merely was, to throw the odium of being the aggressor on the king of Sweden, and thereby to secure the assistance of the States of the empire. The Congress at Dantzic proved fruitless, as might be expected, and the animosity of both parties was increased to its utmost by an intemperate correspondence.

An Imperial General, Torquato Conti, who commanded in Pomerania, had, in the mean time, made a vain attempt to wrest Stettin from the Swedes. The Imperialists were expelled from one place after another; Damm, Stutgard, Camin, and Wolgast, soon fell into the hands of Gustavus. To revenge himself upon the Duke of Pomerania, the Imperial General permitted his generals, upon his retreat, to exercise the most barbarous atrocities.

ties on the unfortunate inhabitants of Pomerania, who had already suffered but too severely from his avarice. On pretence of cutting off the resources of the Swedes, the whole country was laid waste and plundered; and often when the Imperialists could no longer maintain the defence of a town, it was set on fire, that they might leave the enemy nothing but ruins. But these atrocities merely served to place in a still stronger light the opposite conduct of the Swedes, and to win all hearts to their humane monarch. The Swedish soldier paid for all he required; no private property was molested on his march. The Swedish armies were, therefore, received with open arms both in town and country, while all the Imperial soldiers who fell into the hands of the Pomeranian peasantry were murdered without remorse. Many Pomeranians entered into the service of Sweden, and the States of this country, exhausted as it was, willingly voted the King a contribution of 100,000 florins.

Torquato Conti, who, notwithstanding the severity of his character, was a consummate general, endeavoured to render the possessions of Stettin useless to the King of Sweden, as he could not deprive him of the place. He entrenched himself at Gartz, above Stettin upon the Oder, in order to gain the command of that river, and cut off the communication of the town by water with the rest of Germany. Nothing could induce him to give battle to the King of Sweden, who was his superior in numbers, while the latter was equally cautious not to attack the strong entrenchments of the Imperialists. Torquato too, deficient in troops and money to act

upon the offensive against the King, hoped by this plan of operations to give time for Count Tilly to hasten to the defence of Pomerania, intending, in conjunction with that general afterwards to attack the Swedes. He availed himself of the temporary absence of Gustavius, to make a sudden attempt upon Stettin, but the Swedes were not unprepared for him. A spirited attack of the Imperialists was firmly repulsed, and Torquato retired with great loss. It is unquestionable, however, that for this fortunate commencement of the war, Gustavus was as much indebted to his good fortune as to his military talents. The Imperial troops in Pomerania were greatly reduced since Wallenstein's dismissal. The outrages they had committed were now severely revenged upon themselves; the country exhausted and wasted, could no longer afford them subsistence. All discipline was at an end; the orders of the officers were disregarded, while their numbers daily decreased by desertion, and by a general mortality, produced by the piercing cold of a strange climate.

Under these circumstances, the Imperial general was anxious to allow his troops the repose of winter quarters, but he had to do with an enemy who felt no winter in the climate of Germany. Gustavus had taken the precaution of providing his soldiers with dresses of sheep skin, which enabled them to keep the field even in the most inclement season. The Imperial plenipotentiaries who came to treat with him for a cessation of hostilities, received this discouraging answer. "The Swedes are soldiers in winter as well as summer, and not inclined to oppress still farther the unfor-

fortunate peasantry. The Imperialists may act as they think proper, but they need not expect that we shall remain inactive." Torquato Conti soon after resigned a command which no longer held out the prospect either of riches or of reputation.

This inequality in the condition of the two armies, necessarily gave a great advantage to the Swedes. The Imperialists were incessantly harassed in their winter quarters, Greifenhagen an important place upon the Oder taken by storm, and the towns of Gartz and Piritz at length abandoned by the enemy. In the whole of Pomerania, Greifswald, Deurmin, and Colberg alone remained in their hands, and the King lost no time in preparing to besiege these towns. The flying enemy directed his course towards Brandenburg, not without great loss in artillery, baggage, and men, all of which fell into the hands of the pursuers.

By the seizure of the passes at Riebnitz and Damgarden, Gustavus had opened to himself a passage into the Dutchy of Mecklenburg, the inhabitants of which were invited to return to their allegiance under their legitimate sovereign, and to expel the adherents of Wallenstein. The Imperialists, however, got possession of the important town of Rostock by stratagem, and thus prevented the farther advance of the King, who was unwilling to divide his forces. The exiled Dukes of Mecklenburg had in vain employed the intercession of the princes assembled at Ratisbon in their favour with the Emperor; they had in vain endeavoured to soften Ferdinand, by renouncing the alliance of the King, and every idea of resistance. But, driven to despair by the inflexible refusal of the Emperor, they now openly espoused the side

of the King of Sweden, and raised troops, the command of which they intrusted to Francis Charles Duke of Saxe-Lauenburg. That general actually made himself master of several strong places on the Elbe, but lost them afterwards to the Imperial General Pappenheim, who was sent against him. Soon after, besieged by the latter in the town of Ratzeburg, he saw himself, after a fruitless attempt to escape, compelled to surrender with all his troops. Thus ended the attempt of these unfortunate princes to recover their territories; and it was reserved for the victorious arm of Gustavus Adolphus to render them that brilliant service.

The flying bands of the Imperialists had thrown themselves into Brandenburg, which now became the scene of their atrocities. Not content with imposing the most arbitrary exactions, and oppressing the citizens by quartering soldiers upon them, these barbarians ransacked the houses, broke open all places where they suspected property to be concealed, and carried off the provisions which they found; maltreated all who made the smallest opposition, and even violated women in a state of pregnancy. All these outrages, too, were not inflicted upon an enemy's country, but upon the subjects of a prince who had never injured the Emperor, and whom he was at that moment inciting, notwithstanding this treatment, to take up arms against the King of Sweden. The sight of these dreadful disorders, which they were compelled to tolerate from want of money, and of authority over their troops, excited even the displeasure of the Imperial Generals; and their Commander-in-

Chief, Count Schaumburg, was disposed, from shame, to resign the command.

Too deficient in soldiers to protect his territories, and left without assistance by the Emperor, who disregarded the most pressing remonstrances, the Elector of Brandenburg at last issued an edict, directing his subjects to repel force by force, and to put to death without mercy every Imperial soldier, who should henceforth be detected in plundering. The terror of these outrages, and the misery of the country, had risen to such a height, that nothing was left to the Sovereign, but the desperate measure of encouraging private vengeance by a public law.

The Swedes had followed the Imperialists into Brandenburg; and nothing but the Elector's refusal to open to him the fortress of Custrin for his march, had prevented the King from laying siege to Frankfort on the Oder. He now returned to complete the conquest of Pomerania, by the capture of Demmin and Colberg; while, in the mean time, Field-Marshal Tilly was on his march to defend Brandenburg.

This general, who might boast of having never yet lost a battle, the conqueror of Mansfeld, of Duke Christian of Brunswick, of the Margrave of Baden, and the King of Denmark, was now to find in the King of Sweden an opponent worthy of his fame. Tilly was descended of a noble family in Liege, and had formed his military talents in the wars of the Netherlands, which was then the great school for generals. He soon found an opportunity of evincing his attainments in military science under Rodolph II. in Hungary, where he

rose rapidly from one step to another. After the peace was concluded, he entered into the service of Maximilian of Bavaria, who appointed him Commander-in-chief with unlimited authority. Tilly, by his excellent regulations, was the founder of the Bavarian army; and to his exertions Maximilian was chiefly indebted for his preponderance in the field. After the close of the Bohemian war, he was appointed commander of the troops of the League; and, after Wallenstein's dismissal, generalissimo of the Imperial armies. Equally stern towards his troops;—equally implacable towards his enemies;—with the same gloomy and impenetrable disposition as Wallenstein, he was far superior to the latter in probity and disinterestedness. A blind religious bigotry, and a blood-thirsty spirit of persecution, combined, with the natural ferocity of his character, to render him the terror of the Protestants. His strange and terrific aspect was in unison with his character. Of low stature, thin, with hollow cheeks, a long nose, a broad and wrinkled forehead, large whiskers, and a pointed chin; he was generally attired in a Spanish doublet of green atlas with slashed sleeves, with a small and peaked hat upon his head, surmounted by a red feather which hung down his back. His whole aspect recalled to recollection the Duke of Alba, the scourge of the Flemings, and his actions were by no means calculated to remove the impression. Such was the general who was now to be opposed to the Hero of the North.

Tilly was far from undervaluing his antagonist. "The King of Sweden," said he in the Diet at Ratisbon, "is an enemy endowed with equal prudence and valour, inured to war, and in the flower

of his age. His plans are excellent, his resources considerable ; his subjects enthusiastically attached to him. His army, composed of Swedes, Germans, Livonians, Finlanders, Scots and English, is blended into one nation, by devoted obedience to their leader : This is a player from whom we gain much, if we merely lose nothing."

The progress of the King of Sweden in Brandenburg and Pomerania, left the new generalissimo no time to lose ; for his presence was now imperiously called for by those who commanded in that quarter. With all possible haste he assembled the Imperial troops which were scattered all over the empire ; but it required some time to procure from the exhausted and impoverished provinces, the necessary supplies for the war. At last, about the middle of winter, he appeared at the head of 20,000 men, before Francfort on the Oder, where he was joined by the remainder of Schaumburg's troops. He left the defence of Francfort to this general, with a garrison of sufficient strength ; while he himself hastened to Pomerania to save Demmin, and relieve Colberg, which was already hard pressed by the Swedes. But even before he had left Brandenburg, Demmin, which was but poorly defended by the Duke of Savelli, had surrendered to the King, and Colberg, after a five months' siege, was starved into a surrender. As the passes in Upper Pomerania were firmly guarded, and the King's camp near Schwedt bade defiance to any attack, Tilly abandoned his offensive plan of operations, and retreated towards the Elbe, to lay siege to Magdeburg.

By the capture of Demmin, a free passage into Mecklenburg was opened to the King ; but a more

important object drew his force into another quarter. Tilly had scarcely commenced his retreat, when he suddenly broke up his fortified camp at Schwedt, and marched with his whole army against Francfort on the Oder. This town was but indifferently fortified, but defended by a garrison of 8000 men, principally composed of the remains of those ferocious bands, who had ravaged Pomerania and Brandenburg. The assault was made with impetuosity, and on the third day the town was taken by storm. The Swedes, assured of victory, rejected every offer of capitulation, though the enemy twice beat the chamade, determining to exercise the dreadful right of retaliation. Tilly had, soon after his arrival in that quarter, surrounded a Swedish garrison on its march, and, irritated by their obstinate resistance, had cut them in pieces to a man. This cruelty was now in the recollection of the Swedes when they took Francfort. "New Brandenburg Quarter," was their answer to the Imperialists who begged their lives, as they slaughtered them without mercy. Several thousands were either killed or taken prisoners, and many drowned in the Oder; the rest fled towards Silesia, and the whole of their artillery fell into the hands of the Swedes. To satisfy the rage of his troops, Gustavus Adolphus was under the necessity of allowing them three hours' license to plunder the town.

While the King was thus advancing from one conquest to another, and the Protestants, emboldened by his success, were encouraged to a more active resistance, the Emperor calmly proceeded to put in execution the Edict of Restitution, and, by his overstrained demands, to exhaust the

patience of the States. Necessity now compelled him to continue that course of violence which he had entered on through insolent confidence ; the difficulties into which he had been plunged by his arbitrary conduct, could now only be surmounted by measures still more arbitrary. But in a body so complicated as the German empire is, and always has been, despotism must always create the most dangerous convulsions. The princes beheld with astonishment the approaching overthrow of the constitution, and the state of nature to which matters were again verging, suggested to them the idea of self-defence, the only means of safety in such a state. The steps openly taken by the Emperor against the Protestant church had at last removed the veil from the eyes of John George, who had been so long the dupe of his deceitful policy. Ferdinand had personally offended him by the exclusion of his son from the Archbishopric of Magdeburg ; and Field-Marshal Arnheim, his new favourite and minister, lost no opportunity of increasing still farther the irritation of his master. He had formerly been an Imperial general under Wallenstein, to whom he was still zealously attached, and, influenced by this motive, he was eager to avenge himself and his old benefactor on the Emperor, and to detach Saxony from the Austrian interests. The appearance of the Swedes in Germany, now afforded him the means of carrying his designs into execution. Gustavus Adolphus, while supported by the Protestant States, was invincible, and this consideration deeply alarmed the Emperor. The example of Saxony would probably decide the policy of the rest, and the Emperor's fate seemed now in a manner to

depend upon the decision of the Elector. The artful favourite endeavoured to impress upon his master the feeling of his own importance at this period, and advised him to alarm the Emperor, by threatening an alliance with Sweden, and thus to extort from his fears, what he had in vain endeavoured to obtain from his gratitude. It was not his intention, however, actually to enter into the Swedish alliance, but to maintain his own importance and independence : And this he proposed to effect, by a plan (which wanted only a more able hand to carry it into execution), namely, that of putting himself at the head of the whole Protestant party, erecting a third power in Germany, and maintaining the balance between Sweden and Austria.

This plan was peculiarly flattering to John George, to whom the idea of being dependent upon Sweden, or of enduring the tyranny of the Emperor, were equally intolerable. He could not, with indifference, behold the controul of affairs in Germany wrested from him by a foreign prince ; and incapable as he was of acting the principal part, his vanity would not be contented with the second. He determined, therefore, to draw every possible advantage from the progress of Gustavus, but at the same time to pursue his own separate and independent plans. With this view, he consulted with the Elector of Brandenburg, who, from similar causes, was offended with the Emperor, and, at the same time, jealous of Sweden. After securing, in a Diet held at Torgau, the promise of the support of his States, whose assistance was indispensable to the execution of his plans, he invited the Protestant States of the empire to a Ge-

neral Convention, which took place at Leipzig on the 6th February 1631. Brandenburg, Hesse Cassel, with several Princes, Counts, States of the empire, and Protestant Bishops were present, either by themselves, or by deputy at this assembly, which was opened by a vehement discourse from the pulpit by the Saxon court chaplain, Dr Hoe of Hohenegg. The Emperor had, in vain, endeavoured to prevent this self-constituted convention, the object of which seemed to be, to provide for its own defence without consulting him, and which was more than usually alarming at the moment when the Swedes were in the empire. The assembled princes, emboldened by the progress of Gustavus Adolphus, maintained their rights, and the Convention broke up after a session of two months, having come to a resolution which placed the Emperor in peculiar embarrassment. Its import was, to petition the Emperor, in a general address, to recal the Edict of Restitution, to withdraw his troops from their capitals and fortresses, to suspend all further executions, and to abolish the abuses hitherto practised; and, in the meantime, to raise an army of 40,000 men, in order to have the means of redressing their own grievances, if the Emperor should still refuse compliance.

A circumstance which took place at the same time, tended not a little to increase the firmness of the Protestant princes. The King of Sweden had at last surmounted the obstacles which had hitherto prevented him from forming a closer alliance with France, and, on the 13th January 1631, a formal treaty had been concluded between these two crowns. After a serious dispute with regard

to the future treatment of the Catholic princes of the empire, whom France took under her protection, and against whom Gustavus was disposed to exercise the right of retaliation, and some differences of less importance with regard to the title of majesty, which the pride of France hesitated to allow to the King of Sweden, Richelieu yielded the second, and Gustavus Adolphus the first point, and the treaty was signed at Beerwald in Neumark. By that treaty, both contracting parties became bound mutually to protect each other with a military force, to defend their common friends, to restore to their dominions the deposed princes of the empire, and to replace every thing, both on the frontier and in the interior of Germany, on the same footing on which it stood before the commencement of the war. For this purpose, Sweden engaged to maintain an army of 30,000 men in Germany, and France agreed to furnish the Swedes with an annual subsidy of 400,000 dollars. If the arms of Gustavus were successful, he was to respect the Catholic religion and the constitution of the empire in all the conquered places, and to make no attempt against either. All States and Princes, whether Protestant or Catholic, either in Germany or in other countries, were to be admitted, if they pleased, as parties to the treaty : Neither party was to conclude a separate peace without the knowledge and consent of the other ; and the treaty itself was to continue in force for five years.

Reluctant as the King of Sweden had been to receive assistance from France, and to sacrifice, in any way, his independence in the conduct of this war, this alliance with France was decisive in favour of his cause in Germany. Protected, as he

now was, by the greatest power in Europe, the German States began to feel confidence in his undertaking, for the issue of which they had hitherto entertained no unreasonable apprehensions. It was now that he became truly formidable to the Emperor. Even those Catholic princes, who were anxious to lower the ascendancy of Austria, now witnessed his progress in Germany with less distrust, since his alliance with a Catholic power had secured respect for their religion. And thus, while the appearance of Gustavus Adolphus was the means of protecting the Protestant religion and the liberties of Germany against the preponderance of Ferdinand, the interference of France secured those liberties, and the Catholic religion, against Gustavus himself, if in the intoxication of success he should be tempted to exceed the bounds of moderation.

The King of Sweden lost no time in apprising the members of the Confederacy of Leipzig of the nature of the treaty concluded with France, and inviting them to join that alliance. France also seconded this application, and spared no exertions to gain over the Elector of Saxony. Gustavus Adolphus was willing to be contented with secret support, if the princes thought it too bold a step to declare openly in his favour. Several princes gave him hopes of accepting his proposals as soon as opportunity would permit; but John George, filled with jealousy and distrust of the King of Sweden, and true to the selfish policy he had pursued, could not be prevailed upon to give any decisive answer to the application. The decision of the Confederacy of Leipzig, and the alliance betwixt France and Sweden, were two pieces of in-

telligence equally disagreeable to the Emperor. He employed against them the thunder of his Imperial Ordinances, and nothing but the want of an army prevented him from visiting France with the full weight of his displeasure. Remonstrances were addressed to all the members of the Confederacy, prohibiting them, in the strongest manner, from enlisting troops. They retorted with equal vehemence, justified their conduct upon the principles of natural right, and continued their preparations.

Meantime, the Imperial Generals, deficient both in troops and money, saw themselves driven to the disagreeable alternative of losing sight either of the King of Sweden, or of the States of the empire, as with a divided force they were a match for neither. The movements of the Protestants drew their attention to the interior of the empire, while the progress of the King in Brandenburg, who already threatened the hereditary possessions of Austria in its vicinity, required them as imperiously to direct their arms to that quarter. After the taking of Frankfort, the king had turned towards Landsberg on the Warta, and Tilly, after an unsuccessful attempt to relieve that town, had again returned to prosecute, with vigour, the siege of Magdeburg.

The rich Archbishoprick, of which Magdeburg was the capital, had for a considerable time been in the possession of Protestant princes of the house of Brandenburg, who introduced their own religion in the province. Christian William, the last administrator, had, by his connexion with Denmark, fallen under the ban of the empire, on which account the Chapter, in order to escape the

consequences of the Emperor's revengé, had been under the necessity of formally deposing him from his dignity. In his place they had elected Prince John Augustus, the second son of the Elector of Saxony. But his nomination had been rejected by the Emperor, in order to confer the Archbishoprick upon his own son Leopold. The Elector of Saxony ineffectually complained to the Imperial Court; but Christian William of Brandenburg adopted more active measures. Confident of the attachment of the inhabitants and the magistracy of Brandenburg, and excited by chimerical hopes, he indulged the idea of being able to surmount all the obstacles which the decision of the Chapter, a competition of two powerful rivals, and the Edict of Restitution opposed to his restoration. He went to Sweden and endeavoured, by the promise of a powerful diversion in Germany, to secure the support of Gustavus. He was dismissed by that monarch not without hopes of his protection, but with the advice to act with caution.

Scarcely had Christian William been informed of the landing of his protector in Pomerania, than he entered Magdeburg in disguise. He appeared suddenly in the council, reminded the magistrates of the oppression which both town and country had experienced from the Imperial troops, on the destructive attempts of Ferdinand, and the danger of the Protestant church. After this introduction, he disclosed to them that the moment of their deliverance was at hand, and that Gustavus Adolphus offered them his alliance and assistance. Magdeburg, one of the most flourishing towns in Germany, enjoyed, under the government of its magistrates, a republican freedom, which animated its

citizens with a heroic bravery. They had given proofs of their resolution, and courageously maintained their rights against Wallenstein, who, allured by their riches, had assailed them with the most extravagant demands. Their territory had experienced the destructive ravages of his troops, though Magdeburg itself had escaped his vengeance. It was no difficult matter therefore for the Administrator to gain over the minds of men in whose memories the remembrance of those outrages was still recent. An alliance was effected between the city and the King of Sweden, by which Magdeburg granted to the King a free passage through its territories and gates, with liberty of enlisting troops within its boundaries, and obtained, on the other hand, promises of complete protection for its religion and its privileges.

The Administrator immediately assembled troops and commenced hostilities, before Gustavus Adolphus was near enough to co-operate with him. He had the good fortune to defeat some Imperial corps in the neighbourhood, made a few conquests, and even surprised Halle. But the approach of an Imperial army obliged him to retreat in all possible haste, and not without loss, to Magdeburg. Gustavus Adolphus, though displeased with this premature commencement, sent Dietrich Falkenberg, an experienced officer, to direct his military operations, and assist the Administrator with his counsel. Falkenberg was named by the magistrates governor of the town during the continuance of the war. The Prince's army was daily increased by recruits from the neighbouring towns; he obtained several advantages over the Imperial regiments which were sent against him; and was

able for some months to maintain a petty warfare with success.

At length Count Pappenheim, who had now concluded his expedition against the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, approached the town, and having soon driven the troops of the Administrator from their entrenchments, cut off the communication with Saxony, and began in earnest to invest the place. He was soon after followed by Tilly, who, in a threatening epistle addressed to the Elector, ordered him immediately to comply with the Edict of Restitution, to submit to the Emperor's orders and surrender Magdeburg. The Princes's answer was spirited and resolute, and obliged Tilly at once to have recourse to arms.

In the meantime, the siege was for some time prolonged, by the progress of the King of Sweden, which called the Austrian generals from before the place; and the jealousy of these officers, who commanded in their absence, delayed the fall of Magdeburg for some months. On the 30th March 1631, Tilly returned, to prosecute the siege with his usual vigour.

The outworks were soon carried; and Falkenberg, after withdrawing the garrisons which could no longer maintain themselves in that quarter, destroyed the bridge over the Elbe. As he had not troops enough in the town to defend the extensive suburbs and fortifications, those of Sudenburg and Neustadt were abandoned to the enemy, who immediately laid them in ashes. Pappenheim, now separating from Tilly, crossed the Elbe at Schonenbeck, to attack the town from the opposite side.

The garrison, reduced by the skirmishes which had already taken place in the defence of the out-works, scarcely exceeded 2000 infantry and seven hundred horse ; a small number for the defence of so extensive and irregular a fortress. To supply the want of men, the citizens were trained to arms, —a desperate expedient, which caused greater evils than those it was intended to prevent. The citizens, at best but indifferent soldiers, threw the town into total confusion by their dissensions. The poor complained that they were exposed to all the burdens, inconveniences, and dangers of the war, while the rich, by hiring others to do their duty, remained at home in safety. The general discontent terminated at last in an open mutiny ; indifference succeeded to zeal ; weariness and negligence to vigilance and foresight. These divisions, united to the increasing pressure of want, gradually excited, in the minds of many, feelings of apprehension at the desperate nature of their undertaking, and the magnitude of that power to which they were opposed. But religious enthusiasm, combined with an ardent attachment to liberty, an invincible repugnance to the tyranny of the Emperor, and the prospect of speedy relief, as yet banished every idea of a surrender ; and divided as they were in every thing else, they were unanimous in their resolution to defend the place to the last.

The hopes of relief entertained by the besieged were apparently well-founded. They knew that the confederacy of Leipzig was in arms ; they were aware of the near approach of Gustavus Adolphus. Both of these parties were equally interested in the preservation of Magdeburg ; and a few days might

now bring the King of Sweden before its walls. Count Tilly was equally aware of these circumstances, and therefore hastened to make himself master of the place on any terms. He had already despatched a trumpeter with letters to the Administrator, the commandant and the magistrates, offering terms of capitulation ; But he received for answer, that they would rather die than surrender. A spirited sally of the inhabitants convinced him that their resolution was not abated, and the King's arrival at Potsdam, with the incursions of the Swedes as far as Zerbst, filled him with uneasiness, while they raised the courage of the garrison. A second trumpeter was now despatched ; and the more moderate tone of his demands, while it strengthened the confidence of the besieged, unfortunately at the same time increased their negligence.

The besiegers had now pushed their approaches as far as the ditch, and vigorously cannonaded the walls and fortifications from the abandoned batteries. One tower was soon entirely overthrown ; though, as it fell sideways upon the wall, and not into the ditch, it did not materially facilitate the assault. Notwithstanding the continual bombardment, the walls had not suffered much ; and the effect of the fireballs, which were intended to set the town in flames, was counteracted by the excellent measures taken to prevent injury from these combustibles. But the ammunition of the besieged was soon exhausted, and the cannon of the town gradually ceased to answer the fire of the Imperialists. Before a new supply could be procured, Magdeburg would be either relieved, or in the hands of the enemy. The hopes of the besieged

were raised to their height, and all eyes anxiously directed towards the quarter in which the Swedish banners were expected to appear. Gustavus Adolphus was near enough to be able to reach Magdeburg in three days ; their security increased with their hopes, and every thing contributed to that feeling. On the 9th of May, the fire of the Imperialists suddenly ceased, and the cannon were withdrawn from several of the batteries. A death-like stillness reigned in the Imperial camp. Every thing convinced the besieged that their deliverance was at hand. The greater part of the guard, both citizens and soldiers, left their posts upon the ramparts early in the morning, to indulge themselves, after their long labours, with the refreshment of sleep, but it was indeed a fatal sleep, and a fearful wakening.

Tilly had at last abandoned the hope of making himself master of the town before the arrival of the Swedes, by the means which he had hitherto employed, and therefore resolved to raise the siege after he had tried the effect of a general assault. Great difficulties, however, remained to be overcome, as no breach had yet been made, and the works were scarcely injured. But the council of war whom he assembled on this occasion, declared for an assault, citing the example of Maestricht, which had been taken early in the morning, while the citizens and soldiers were indulging in sleep. The attack was to be made in four places ; the whole of the night betwixt the 9th and 10th of May, was employed in the necessary preparations. Every thing was in readiness, and awaited the signal of the cannon, which was to be given at five o'clock in the morning. The signal,

however, was not given until two hours later, after Tilly, who was still doubtful of the issue, had again assembled the council of war. Pappenheim received orders to attach the works of the New Town, where the attempt was favoured by a sloping rampart, and a dry ditch of moderate depth. The greater part of the citizens and soldiers had left the walls, and the few who remained were overcome with sleep. This general therefore found little difficulty in mounting the wall at the head of his troops.

Falkenburg, roused by the report of musketry, hastened from the Town-house, where he was engaged in despatching Tilly's second trumpeter, and hurried with all the force he could collect towards the gate of the New Town, which was already in the possession of the enemy. Baffled in his attempt to regain the gate, this intrepid general flew to another quarter, where a second party of the enemy were endeavouring to scale the walls. But his resistance was vain, and he fell in the commencement of the action. The roar of musketry, the pealing of the alarm-bells, and the increasing shouts of the assailants, awoke the slumbering citizens to the full knowledge of their danger. They hurried on their clothes and arms in haste, seized their weapons, and rushed in blind confusion against the enemy. Some hope of repulsing the besiegers still remained; but the commandant was killed, no plan had been arranged, there was no cavalry to support the garrison, no ammunition to maintain their fire. Two other gates, hitherto unattached, were stript of their defenders, to meet the more immediate necessity within the town.

The enemy soon availed themselves of this confusion to seize upon these posts. The resistance was spirited and obstinate, until four Imperial regiments, who had made themselves masters of the ramparts, fell upon the garrison in the rear, and completed their route. A brave captain, named Schmidt, who, amidst the general confusion, still headed a party of the more resolute of the garrison against the enemy, and was fortunate enough even to repulse them to the gates, was at last mortally wounded; and with him expired the hopes of Magdeburg. Before noon all the works were carried, and the town was in the hands of the enemy. *

Two gates were now opened by the besiegers for the entrance of the army, and Tilly marched part of his infantry into the town. He immediately occupied the principal streets, and with pointed cannon drove the citizens into their dwellings, there to await their destiny. They were not long held in suspense; a word from Tilly decided the fate of Magdeburg.

Even a more humane general would have vainly attempted to restrain such soldiers; but Tilly never once made the attempt. The silence of their general left the soldiery masters of the lives of the citizens, and they broke without restraint into the houses to gratify every brutal appetite. The prayers of innocence excited some compassion in the hearts of the Germans, but none in the rude breasts of Pappenheim's Walloons. Scarce had the massacre commenced, when the other gates were thrown open, and the cavalry, with the fearful hordes of the Croats, poured in upon the devoted town.

And now began a scene of carnage, which history has no language, poetry no pencil to portray. Neither the innocence of childhood, nor the helplessness of old age; neither youth, sex, rank, nor beauty; could disarm the fury of the conquerors. Wives were dishonoured in the arms of their husbands, daughters at the feet of their parents; and the defenceless sex exposed to the double sacrifice of virtue and life. No condition, however obscure, or however sacred, could afford protection from the rapacity of the enemy. Fifty-three women were found beheaded in a single church. The Croats amused themselves with throwing children into the flames; Pappenheim's Walloons with stabbing infants at the mother's breast. Some officers of the League, horror-struck at this dreadful scene, ventured to remind Tilly that he had it in his power to stop the carnage. "Return in an hour," was his answer, "and I shall see what is to be done; the soldier must have some recompense for his danger and toils." These horrors lasted without abatement, till at last the smoke and flames stopped the course of the plunderers. To increase the confusion, and break the resistance of the inhabitants, the Imperialists had, in the commencement of the assault, fired the town in several places. A tempest now arose which spread the flames with frightful rapidity through the town, till the blaze became universal. The confusion was deepened by the clouds of smoke, the heaps of dead bodies that strewed the ground, the clash of swords, the crash of falling ruins, and the streams of blood which ran along the streets. The atmosphere glowed; and the intolerable heat at last compelled even the mu-

derers to take refuge in their camp. In less than twelve hours, this strong, populous, and flourishing city, one of the finest in Germany, was a heap of ashes, with the exception of two churches, and a few houses. The Administrator Christian William, after receiving several wounds, was taken prisoner, with three of the Burgomasters; most of the officers and magistrates had already met an enviable death. The avarice of the officers had saved 400 of the richest citizens from death, in the hope of extorting from them an exorbitant ransom. This piece of humanity was owing principally to the officers of the League; and even this questionable clemency, when contrasted with the blind and ruthless butchery of the Austrians, made them be regarded as guardian angels by the citizens.

Scarcely had the fury of the flames abated, when the Imperial soldiers returned to satiate anew their rage for plunder amidst the ruins and ashes of the town. Many were suffocated by the smoke; many found rich booty in the cellars, where the citizens had concealed their valuable effects. On the 13th of May, Tilly himself appeared in the town, after the streets had been cleared of ashes and corpses. Horrible and revolting to humanity was the scene that presented itself. The living crawling from under the dead, children wandering about with heart-rending cries, seeking their parents; and infants still sucking the dead bodies of their mothers. More than 5000 bodies were thrown into the Elbe to clear the streets; a much greater number had been consumed by the flames. The entire amount of the slaughter was calculated at 30,000.

The entrance of the General, which took place on the 14th, put a stop to the plunder, and saved the few who still remained alive. About a thousand people were taken out of the cathedral, where they had remained for three days and two nights, without food, and in the constant fear of death. Tilly promised them quarter, and distributed bread among them. The next day a solemn mass was performed in the cathedral, and *Te Deum* sung amidst the discharge of artillery. The Imperial General rode through the streets, that he might be enabled, as an eyewitness, to inform his master, that no such conquest had been made since the destruction of Troy and Jerusalem. Nor was the assertion exaggerated, whether we consider the extent, importance, and prosperity of the town which was destroyed, or the savage fury of its conquerors.

The intelligence of the dreadful fate of Magdeburg excited triumphant exultation among the Catholics, while it spread terror and consternation among the Protestants of Germany. Universal complaints were uttered against the King of Sweden, who, with so strong a force, and in the very neighbourhood of the town, had left it to its fate. Even the most reasonable found the King's inactivity on this occasion inexplicable; and Gustavus Adolphus, that he might not irrecoverably lose the good will of the people, for whose deliverance he had engaged in this war, was under the necessity of justifying his conduct to the world, by a written explanation.

He had attacked and carried Landsberg on the 16th April, when he learned the danger to which Magdeburg was exposed. His resolution was im-

mediately taken to relieve that town; and he set out on his march towards the Spree, with all his cavalry, and ten regiments of infantry. But the situation in which he stood in Germany rendered it imperatively necessary for him to secure his rear before advancing a single step. The utmost vigilance and caution was necessary in traversing a country which was surrounded by suspicious friends and dangerous enemies, and when a single premature movement might cut off his communication with his own kingdom. The Elector of Brandenburg had formerly opened his strong fortress of Custrin to the flying Imperialists, and closed the gates against their pursuers. If Gustavus should be unfortunate against Tilly, the Elector might again open his fortresses to the Imperialists, and the King, with an enemy both in front and rear, would be irrecoverably lost. In order to avoid this accident in the present enterprise, he required, before attempting the relief of Magdeburg, that the Elector should open to him the fortresses of Custrin and Spandau, to remain in his hands till he should succeed in raising the siege of Magdeburg.

Nothing appeared to be more reasonable than this demand. The important services which Gustavus had shortly before rendered to the Elector, by expelling the Imperialists from the territory of Brandenburg, afforded him a claim to his gratitude, and the past conduct of the Swedes in Germany, to his confidence. But by the cession of his fortresses, the Elector would in a manner render the King of Sweden master of his country; besides that, by such a step, he must at once break with the Emperor, and expose his states to the cer-

tainty of his future vengeance. George William had a long and violent struggle with himself, but pusillanimity and self-interest at last appeared to prevail. Unmoved by the probable fate of Magdeburg, indifferent towards his religion and the liberties of Germany, he was alive to nothing but his own danger; and this feeling was increased to the utmost, by his minister Von Schwartzenburg, who was secretly in the pay of Austria. In the mean time, the Swedish troops approached Berlin, and the King took up his residence with the Elector. He could not conceal his displeasure on witnessing the timorous hesitation of that prince:—"I march to relieve Magdeburg," said he, "not for my own advantage, but for that of the Protestant religion. If I am to receive no support, I shall immediately commence a retreat, conclude a treaty with the Emperor, and return to Stockholm. I am assured that Ferdinand will readily grant me such a peace as I shall require. But if Magdeburg is once lost, and the Emperor relieved from all apprehensions of me, then look to the consequences." This timely threat, and perhaps, too, the appearance of the Swedish army, which was strong enough to compel by force what was denied to entreaty, at last decided the Elector, and Spandau was delivered into the hands of the Swedes.

The King had now two routes to Magdeburg; one leading to the westward through an exhausted country, and filled with hostile troops, who would probably dispute with him the passage of the Elbe; the other more to the southward, by Dessau and Wittenberg, where bridges were to be found for crossing the Elbe, and where supplies could easily

be obtained from Saxony. But this could not be effected without the consent of the Elector, whom Gustavus, not without reason, was strongly inclined to distrust. Before setting out on his march, therefore, he demanded from that prince a free passage, and subsistence for his troops, on condition of receiving immediate payment. His demand was rejected, and no remonstrances could prevail on the Elector to give up his system of neutrality. While the point was still in dispute, the news of the dreadful fate of Magdeburg arrived.

Tilly announced its fall to the Protestants princes in the tone of a conqueror, and lost no time in improving the general consternation which it caused. The consequence of the Emperor, which had visibly declined during the rapid progress of Gustavus, now rose higher than even after this decisive blow ; and the effects of the change were speedily visible in the imperious tone which he adopted towards the Protestant States. The resolutions of the Confederacy of Leipzig were annulled by a proclamation, the Convention itself suppressed by an Imperial decree, and all the refractory States threatened with the fate of Magdeburg. As the executor of the Imperial decree, Tilly immediately ordered troops to march against the Bishop of Bremen, who was a member of the Confederacy, and had himself enlisted soldiers. The terrified bishop immediately resigned his troops to Tilly, and signed the Edict, by which the resolutions of the Confederacy were annulled. An Imperial Army, which had lately returned from Italy, under the command of Count Furstenberg, acted in a similar manner towards the Administrator of Wirtemberg. The Duke was compelled to

submit to the Edict of Restitution, and all the decrees of the Emperor, and even to furnish a monthly subsidy of 100,000 dollars towards the subsistence of the Imperial troops. Similar burdens were imposed upon Ulm and Nuremberg, and the whole circles of Franconia and Swabia. The terrible hand of the Emperor was extended over all Germany; the sudden superiority which he had obtained by this blow, more apparent, perhaps, than real, now led him beyond the bounds even of that moderation which he had hitherto observed, and hurried him into extravagances which at last decided the wavering resolution of the German princes in favour of Gustavus Adolphus. Injurious as the immediate consequences of the fall of Magdeburg were to the Protestant cause, its remoter effects were of the most advantageous nature. Surprise made way for resentment, despair inspired courage, and the liberties of Germany seemed to rise, like a phoenix, from the ashes of Magdeburg.

Among the princes of the Confederacy of Leipzig, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, were by far the most powerful, and the authority of the Emperor in this quarter remained insecure until these should be disarmed. Tilly first directed his force against the Landgrave, and marched straight from Magdeburg into Thuringia. The territories of Saxe Ernest and Schwartzburg were exposed to the most injurious treatment during this march; and Frankenhausen, even before the eyes of Tilly, plundered by his soldiers, and laid in ashes with impunity. The unfortunate peasant paid dear for his master's attachment to the interests of Sweden. Erfurt, the key of Saxony and Franconia, was threatened with a siege,

and escaped only by a voluntary contribution of provisions and money. From thence Tilly despatched his emissaries to the Landgrave, with orders to disband his army without delay, to renounce the Leipsic league, to receive Imperial garrisons into his territories and fortresses, to furnish contributions, and to declare himself at once either friend or foe. Such was the treatment which a prince of the empire was compelled to submit to from a servant of the Emperor. But these extravagant demands were fearfully supported by the power which was prepared to enforce them, and the dreadful remembrance of the fate of Magdeburg still fresh in the recollection of the Landgrave, tended still farther to strengthen their impression. These circumstances rendered still more admirable the intrepidity of the Landgrave's answer: "The admission of foreign troops into the capital and fortresses of the Landgrave, is out of the question; his troops he requires for his own purposes; against an attack he is prepared. If General Tilly requires money or provisions, let him go to Munich, where there are supplies of both." The irruption of two bodies of Imperial troops into Hesse was the immediate result of this spirited reply, but the Landgrave opposed them so vigorously that they effected nothing. But just as Tilly was preparing to follow with his whole army, and when the unfortunate country would, in all probability, have paid dear for the firmness of its Sovereign, the movements of the King of Sweden recalled him to another quarter.

Gustavus Adolphus had learned with the deepest regret the fall of Magdeburg, a feeling which was still farther increased by the demand now made by the Elector, George William, in terms of their agreement, for the restoration of Spandau.

The loss of Magdeburg had strengthened rather than weakened the reasons which rendered the possession of this fortress so important to the King; and the nearer the prospect of a decisive battle between himself and Tilly became, the more unwilling he felt to abandon the only place of refuge that would remain to him in the event of a defeat. After vainly endeavouring, by entreaties and representations, to bring over the Elector to his views, and perceiving that his coldness and lukewarminess every day increased, he gave orders to his Commander to evacuate Spandau, but at the same time declared that he would henceforth regard the Elector as an enemy.

To give weight to this declaration, he appeared with his whole army before Berlin. "I will not be worse treated than the Imperial Generals," was his answer to the ambassadors who were despatched by the bewildered Elector to his camp. "Your master has received them into his territories, supplied them with every necessary, ceded to them every place which they required, and, notwithstanding all these concessions, has been unable to prevail upon them to treat his subjects with common humanity. All I ask of him is security, a moderate sum of money, and provision for my troops; in return, I promise to protect his country, and to keep the war at a distance from him. To this point I must adhere, and my brother, the Elector, must determine at once, to have me as a friend, or to see his capital plundered." This decisive tone produced its impression; and the pointing of cannon against the town, put an end to the doubts of George William. In a few days a treaty was signed, by which the Elector agreed to furnish a monthly subsidy of 30,000 dollars, to leave Spandau in the King's hands, and

to open Custrine at all times to the Swedish troops. This decisive alliance between the Elector of Brandenburg and the Swedes, excited no less displeasure at Vienna than the similar resolution of the Duke of Pomerania; but the unfavourable change of fortune which soon took place, permitted the Emperor to display his resentment only by words.

The King's pleasure, on this fortunate event, was increased by the agreeable intelligence that Greifswald, the only place of strength in Pomerania, which was still in the hands of the Imperialists, had surrendered, and that the whole country was now freed from the scourge of the enemy. He appeared once more in this dutchy, and enjoyed the gratifying prospect of the general joy which he had caused. A year had elapsed since Gustavus had entered Germany, and this event was now celebrated through the whole dutchy by a general festival. The Czar of Moscow had shortly before sent ambassadors to congratulate him, to renew their alliance, and even to offer him the assistance of troops. He had the more reason to congratulate himself on the friendly disposition of Russia, as it was so necessary for his interests that Sweden itself should remain undisturbed by any dangerous neighbour during the war in which he himself was engaged. His Queen, Maria Eleonora, soon after landed in Pomerania with a reinforcement of 8000 Swedes; and the arrival of 6000 English, under the Marquis of Hamilton, requires the more particular notice, because their arrival is all which history records of the exploits of the English during the Thirty Years War.

Pappenheim, in the meantime, during Tilly's expedition, kept possession of the territory of Magdeburg; but was unable to prevent the Swedes

from several times crossing the Elbe, routing some Imperial detachments, and surprising several towns. He himself, alarmed at the approach of the King of Sweden, sent a pressing summons to recall Tilly, and urged him to return by rapid marches to Magdeburg. Tilly encamped on the one side of the river at Wolmerstadt; Gustavus on the same side, near Werben, not far from the confluence of the Havel and the Elbe. His arrival portended no advantage to Tilly. The Swedes routed three of his regiments, which were posted in villages at some distance from the main army, carried off half their baggage, and burned the remainder. Tilly in vain advanced within cannon shot of the King's camp, to offer him battle. Gustavus, weaker by one-half than his opponent, prudently declined it: and his camp was too strongly fortified to be carried by storm. Nothing took place but a distant cannonade, and some skirmishes, in all of which the Swedes had the advantage. In his retreat to Wolmerstadt, Tilly's army was weakened by numerous desertions. Fortune seemed to have forsaken him since the carnage of Magdeburg.

The King of Sweden, on the contrary, proceeded in a career of uninterrupted success. While he himself was encamped in Werben, the whole of Mecklenburg, with the exception of a few towns, was conquered by his General Tott; and Duke Adolphus Frederick and he enjoyed the satisfaction of reinstating both Dukes in their possessions. He proceeded in person to Gustrow, where the restoration was to take place, to give additional dignity to the solemnity by his presence. Both Dukes, with their deliverer between them,

and attended by a splendid train of princes, made a public entry, which the joy of their subjects converted into a most touching solemnity. Soon after his return to Werben, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel appeared in his camp, to conclude with him a close alliance offensive and defensive : the first sovereign prince in Germany, who voluntarily and openly declared against the Emperor, though he too was influenced to the step by the strongest motives. The Landgrave William engaged to treat the King's enemies as his own, to open to him his towns and territory, and to furnish him with provisions and necessaries. The King, on the other hand, declared himself his ally and protector ; and engaged to enter into no peace without procuring for the Landgrave a full redress of grievances from the Emperor. Both parties honourably performed their agreement. Hesse Cassel adhered to the Swedish alliance during the whole of this tedious war ; and at the peace of Westphalia had reason to congratulate itself on its alliance with Sweden.

Tilly, from whom this bold step, on the part of the Landgrave, could not be long concealed, despatched Count Fugger with several regiments against him ; and at the same time endeavoured, by inflammatory letters, to stir up his subjects against him. But his letters were as ineffective as his troops, which were afterwards defeated at the battle of Breitenfield. The states of Hesse could not for a moment hesitate between the protector and the plunderer.

But the Imperial General was far more embarrassed by the equivocal conduct of the Elector of Saxony, who, disregarding the Imperial prohibition, continued his preparations, and adhered

to the confederacy of Leipzig. At a moment like this, when the King of Sweden was approaching, and a decisive battle must soon be inevitable, it appeared to him extremely dangerous to leave Saxony in arms, and ready in a moment to declare for the enemy. Tilly had just received a reinforcement of 25,000 veteran troops under Furstenberg, and, confident in its strength, he hoped either to disarm the Elector by the mere terror of his arrival, or at least to vanquish him without difficulty. Before leaving his camp at Wolmerstadt, he required of him, by a special messenger, to open his territories to the Imperial troops; to disband his own, or join them to the Imperial army; and, in conjunction with himself, assist in expelling the King of Sweden from Germany. He reminded him, that of all the German states Saxony had hitherto been treated with the greatest respect and indulgence, while he threatened him with the most destructive ravages in the event of his refusal.

But Tilly had chosen an unfavourable moment for so imperious a demand. The outrages inflicted on his religion and his allies, the destruction of Magdeburg, the excesses of the Imperialists in Lusatia; all combined to inflame the Elector against the Emperor. The advance of Gustavus Adolphus, (however slender his claims were to the protection of that prince,) tended to fortify his resolution. He refused to admit the Imperial soldiers, and announced his decided resolution to remain in arms. "He would be surprised," he added, "to see the Imperial army on its march against his territories, when that army had enough to do in watching the operations of the king of Sweden; and to find his own services rejected,

not with the rewards which had been promised and deserved, but with ingratitude, and the ruin of his country." To Tilly's deputies, whom he entertained in a princely manner, he spoke his mind more freely on their departure. "Gentlemen," said he, "I perceive that the Saxon confederation, which has been so long spared, is at length to be set upon the table. But as it is usual to accompany it with nuts, and dishes of show, take care that your teeth do not suffer on the occasion."

Tilly instantly broke up his camp, and advanced upon Halle, amidst the most frightful devastation; from this place he renewed his application to the Elector in a still more pressing and menacing tone. When we remember the whole previous policy of this prince, who, both from his own inclination, and the concessions made by his minister, had promoted the interests of the Emperor, even at the expense of his own sacred obligation, and who had hitherto been kept inactive merely by a little management, we feel astonished at the infatuation of the Emperor or his minister, in abandoning the course they had hitherto pursued at so critical a moment, and, by violent measures, incensing a prince who might so easily have been led into their views. Or was this the very object which Tilly had in view? Was it his purpose to convert an equivocal friend into an open enemy, and thus to be absolved from the necessity of that clemency, which the secret instructions of the Emperor had hitherto imposed upon him, in the treatment of this prince? Or was it the Emperor's wish, by impelling the Elector to open hostilities, to get quit of the obligations he owed him, and to break at once, with a

good grace, the ties that had subsisted between them? In either view we must be equally surprised at the daring insolence of Tilly, who hesitated not, in presence of one formidable enemy, to stir up another against him; and at his negligence in allowing their union to take place without opposition.

John George, rendered desperate by the entrance of Tilly into his territories, threw himself though not without a violent struggle, under the protection of Sweden.

Immediately after dismissing Tilly's first embassy, he had despatched his Field-Marshal Amheur in all haste to the camp of Gustavus, with an offer of prompt assistance to that monarch whom he had so long neglected. The King concealed the inward satisfaction he felt at this long wished for step. "I am sorry for the Elector," said he, with dissembled coldness, to the ambassador; "had he attended to my repeated remonstrances, his country would never have seen the face of an enemy, and Magdeburg would still have existed. Now, only when necessity leaves him no alternative, he has recourse to the assistance of Sweden. But tell him, that it is not my intention to ruin my cause, and that of my confederates, for the sake of the Elector of Saxony. What pledge have I for the security of a prince whose ministers are in the pay of Austria, and who will abandon me as soon as the Emperor condescends to flatter him, and to withdraw his forces from his frontiers? Tilly, it is true, has received a strong reinforcement; but this shall not prevent me from meeting him boldly, as soon as I have covered my rear."

The Saxon minister could make no other reply

to these reproaches, than that it was better at the present moment to bury past transactions in oblivion. He pressed the King to name the conditions, on which he was willing to afford his assistance to Saxony, and offered to guarantee their acceptance, "I require," said Gustavus, "that the Elector shall cede to me the fortress of Wittenberg, deliver to me his eldest sons as hostages, furnish my troops with three months' pay, and deliver up to me the traitors among his ministry." "Not Wittenberg alone," said the Elector, when he received this answer, and sent back his minister to the Swedish camp, "not Wittenberg alone, but Torgau, and all Saxony, shall be opened to him; my whole family shall be delivered to him as hostages; and if that is not sufficient, I will place myself in his hands. Hasten back and tell him, I am ready to deliver to him any traitors he shall name, to furnish the contribution he requires, and to venture my life and fortune in the good cause."

The King had only wished to put the sincerity of John George's new sentiments to the test; and, now assured of it, he retracted these harsh demands. "The distrust with which I was treated," said he when advancing to the relief of Magdeburg, had naturally excited mine; the present confidence of the Elector demands a return. I am satisfied, provided he grants my army one month's pay, and even for this advance I hope to indemnify him."

Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, the King crossed the Elbe, and next day joined the Saxons. Instead of preventing this junction, Tilly had advanced against Leipzig, which he summoned to receive an imperial garrison. In

hopes of speedy relief, Hans Von der Pforta, the commandant, made preparations for his defence, and laid the suburb towards Halle in ashes. But the wretched state of the fortifications rendered resistance vain, and on the second day the gates were opened. Tilly had taken up his abode in the house of a grave-digger, the only one still standing in the suburb of Halle: here he signed the capitulation, and planned his attack on the King of Sweden. Tilly grew pale at the sight of the skulls and bones, with the representations of which the proprietor had decorated his house; and Leipzig, contrary to all expectation, experienced an unusual lenity.

Meanwhile a council of war was held at Torgau, between the King of Sweden, and the Elector of Saxony, at which the Elector of Brandenburg was also present. Upon the resolution, which was now to be adopted, depended the fate of Germany, and the Protestant religion, the happiness of nations, and the destiny of their princes. The anxiety of suspense which oppresses even the hearts of heroes before the formation of some decisive resolution, seemed for a moment to overshadow the great mind of Gustavus Adolphus, "If we decide upon a battle," said he, "a crown and two electorates are at stake. Fortune is changeable, and the inscrutable decrees of heaven may, for our transgressions, give the victory to our enemies. My kingdom, it is true, even in the event of my life, and that of my army, might still have a refuge left. Far removed from the scene of action, defended by a powerful fleet, a well guarded frontier, and a warlike population, it would at least be safe from the worst consequences of this defeat. But what safety remains for you in the

event of failure, with an enemy so close at hand?

Gustavus Adolphus displayed the modest diffidence of a hero, not blinded to the greatness of his danger, by an overweening belief of his own strength; John George, the confidence of a weak man, who felt that he had a hero by his side. Impatient to rid his territories as soon as possible from the pressure of their armies, he burned for a battle, in which he had no former laurels to lose. He would have marched with his Saxons alone against Leipzig, and attacked Tilly. Gustavus at last acceded to his views; and it was resolved that the attack should be made before Tilly received the reinforcements, which were on their way to him, under the command of Altringer and Tiefenbach. The united Swedish and Saxon army now crossed the Mulda, while the Elector of Saxony returned homeward.

Early in the morning of the 7th September 1631, the hostile armies came in sight of each other. Tilly, who was determined to await the arrival of the expected reinforcements, since he had neglected the opportunity of overpowering the Saxons before their union with the Swedes, had taken up his position not far from Leipsig, in a strong and advantageously situated camp, where he expected he would be able to avoid the battle. But the impetuosity of Pappenheim obliged him, as soon as the enemy were in motion, to alter his plans, and to move to the left, in the direction of the hills which run from the village of Wahren towards Lindenthal. At the foot of these heights his army was disposed in a single line, and his artillery placed upon the heights behind, so as to sweep the whole plain of Breitenfeld. The Swedish and Saxon army advanced in

two columns, having to pass the Lober near Podelwitz, a village lying in Tilly's front.

To obstruct their passage over this rivulet, Pappenheim was detached at the head of 2000 cuirassiers, but not without great reluctance on the part of Tilly, and with express injunctions not to commence a battle. But, disregarding this prohibition, Pappenheim attacked the vanguard of the Swedes, and after a short contest, was compelled to retreat. To stop the progress of the enemy, he set fire to Podelwitz, which however did not prevent both armies from advancing and forming in order of battle.

The Swedes formed on the right in two lines, the infantry in the centre, divided into small battalions, (capable of being easily manœuvred without disturbing their order, and of executing the most rapid movements,) the cavalry upon the wings, divided in the same manner into small squadrons, and interspersed with several troops of musqueteers, so as to conceal the smallness of their numbers, and annoy the enemy's horse. Colonel Teufel commanded the centre; Gustavus Horn the left; while the right was led by the King in person, opposed to Count Pappenheim.

The Saxons formed at a considerable distance from the Swedes,—a disposition on the part of Gustavus which was justified by the event. The order of battle had been originally arranged between the Elector and his field-marshal, and merely laid before the King for his approval. He was anxious apparently to separate the Swedish prowess from that of the Saxons, and fortune did not confound them together.

The enemy extended under the heights towards the west, in a line long enough to outflank the Swedish army,—the infantry being arranged in large battalions, the cavalry in squadrons of the same unwieldy magnitude. The artillery being placed on the hills behind, they were placed under the range of their own fire, in the event of their advance. From this position of the artillery, it appears evident that Tilly's purpose rather was to await than to attack the enemy: since this arrangement would have rendered it impossible for him to do so, without exposing his army to the effect of their own cannon. Tilly himself commanded the centre, Count Furstenberg the right wing, and Pappenheim the left. The united troops of the Emperor and the League on this day, amounted only to about 34,000 or 35,000 men; those of the Swedes and Saxons to about the same number. But had a million on the one side been confronted with a million on the other, though it might have rendered the action more bloody, it could not have rendered it more important and decisive. For this day had Gustavus crossed the Baltic, courting danger in distant countries, and exposing his crown and life to the hazard of capricious fortune. The two greatest Generals of the time, both hitherto unconquered, were now to compete with each other in a contest which they had long avoided; and on this battle field the renown of one leader must inevitably be left. Germany beheld the approach of this day with fear and trembling; and the cotemporary world awaited with deep anxiety the issue of an event, which posterity was destined, either to bless or to deplore.

The intrepidity and resolution which Tilly had

ever showed, seemed to forsake him on this decisive day. He had formed no plan to give battle to the King, and he showed as little constancy in his resolution of avoiding one. Pappenheim had compelled him to action contrary to his wish. Doubts which he had never before felt, arose in his breast; gloomy and sombre presentiments clouded the native clearness of his mind; the shade of Magdeburg seemed to hover over him.

The battle began with a two hours' cannonade. The wind, which blew from the west, drove thick clouds of smoke and dust from the newly ploughed and trampled fields in the faces of the Swedes. This induced the King insensibly to wheel northwards, and the rapidity with which this movement was executed, left the enemy no time to prevent it.

Tilly at last left his heights, and commenced a serious attack upon the Swedes; but to avoid the vehemence of their fire, he filed off towards the right, and fell upon the Saxons with such impetuosity, that their divisions were separated, and the whole army thrown into confusion. The Elector took refuge in Eilenburg, though a few regiments still maintained their ground upon the field of battle, and by a courageous resistance saved the honour of Saxony. The moment they perceived the confusion, the Croats commenced plundering, and messengers were despatched with the news of the victory to Munich and Vienna.

Pappenheim had attacked the right wing of the Swedes with the whole force of his cavalry, but without being able to make any impression on the firmness of its ranks. The King commanded here in person, and under him General Banner. Seven times did Pappenheim renew the attack, and seven times he was repulsed. He fled at last with great

loss, and abandoned the field to his conqueror.

In the meantime, Tilly, who had vanquished the remainder of the Saxons, fell with his victorious troops on the left wing of the Swedes. To this wing, the King, as soon as he perceived the disorder among the Saxons, had, with admirable precaution, detached a reinforcement of three regiments to cover its flank, which was now left exposed by the flight of the Saxons. Gustavus Horn, who commanded here, opposed a vigorous resistance to the enemy's cuirassiers, which was materially assisted by the infantry which was interspersed through the squadrons of horse. The enemy were already beginning to give way, when Gustavus Adolphus appeared to decide the contest. The left wing of the Imperialists had been defeated; and his troops, having no longer any enemy to oppose them, were now at liberty to turn their arms to the quarter where their assistance was most available. He wheeled, therefore, with his right wing and main body to the left, and attacked the eminences on which the hostile artillery was planted. In a short time he was in possession of the heights, and the enemy were soon exposed to the full effect of their own cannon.

The fire of artillery upon their flank, and the terrible onset of the Swedes in front, threw this hitherto invincible army into disorder. A speedy retreat was the only course now left to Tilly, but even that movement was to be executed through the midst of the enemy. The whole army fell into confusion, with the exception of four regiments of veteran soldiers, who, never having yet fled from the field, were determined not to do so now. Closing their ranks, they penetrated through the midst of the victorious army, and gained a small

wood, where they again made head against the hordes, and maintained their resistance till night, when they were reduced to the number of six hundred men. With them fled the wreck of Tilly's army, and the battle was decided.

Amidst the wounded and the dead, Gustavus Adolphus threw himself on his knees, and his first expression of joy for his victory was poured forth in a fervent thanksgiving to Heaven. He ordered the enemy to be pursued, as far as the darkness of the night would permit, by his cavalry. The pealing of the alarm-bells set the inhabitants of all the neighbouring villages in motion, and wretched was the fate of such fugitives as fell into their hands. The King encamped with the rest of his army between the field of battle and Leipzig, as it was impossible to attack the town the same night. Seven thousand of the enemy were killed in the field, and more than 5000 either wounded or taken prisoners. Their whole artillery and camp fell into the hands of the Swedes, and more than a hundred standards and colours were taken. Of the Saxons about 2000 had fallen, while the loss of the Swedes did not exceed 700. The defeat of the Imperialists was so total, that Tilly, on his retreat to Halle and Halberstadt, could not collect above 600 men, or Pappenheim more than 1400;—so rapidly was this formidable army dispersed, which had so lately been the terror of Italy and Germany.

Tilly himself was indebted to chance for his personal escape. Though exhausted by several wounds, he still refused to surrender to a Swedish captain of horse, who summoned him to yield, and who was on the point of putting him to death, when a timely pistol-shot stretched him on the

ground. But the pain of surviving his reputation, and of losing in a single day the fruits of his whole life, was to him more grievous than his danger or his wounds. All his former victories were as nothing to him, since he had failed in securing the one that should have crowned them all. Nothing remained to him from all his past exploits, but the general execration which accompanied them. From this day forth, the cheerfulness of Tilly, and his good fortune, equally abandoned him. Even his last consolation, the hope of revenge, was denied to him, by the express prohibition of the Emperor to risk a decisive battle.

His misfortunes on this occasion were principally attributable to three mistakes, that of planting his cannon on the hills behind him, of afterwards leaving these heights, and of allowing the enemy to form in order of battle without opposition. But how easily might those mistakes have been rectified, but for the cool presence of mind and superior genius of his adversary !

Tilly fled from Halle to Halberstadt, where he scarcely took time to await the cure of his wounds, but hurried towards the Weser to recruit his forces by the addition of the Imperial garrisons in Lower Saxony.

The Elector of Saxony had not failed, after the danger was over, to make his appearance in Gustavus's camp. The King thanked him for having advised him to a battle, and the Elector, captivated by this kind reception, promised him, in the first transports of his joy, the Roman Crown. Gustavus next day set out for Merseburg, leaving the Elector behind to attack Leipzig. Five thousand Imperialists, whom he met on his march, were partly cut down or taken prisoners, while the

greater part of them entered into his service. Merseburg soon surrendered; Halle was soon after taken; to which place the Elector of Saxony repaired to meet the King, after making himself master of Leipzig, and to concert their future plan of operations.

The victory was gained, but a prudent policy alone could render it available and decisive. The Imperial armies were routed, Saxony freed from the enemy, and Tilly had taken refuge in Brunswick. To have followed him thither would have stirred up anew the war in Lower Saxony, which had as yet scarcely recovered from the ravages of the last. It was therefore resolved to carry the war into the enemy's country, which lay open and defenceless, even as far as Vienna. They might fall upon the territories of the Catholic Princes on their right, or penetrate into the hereditary dominions of Austria on the left, and strike terror into the Emperor in the heart of his capital. Both plans were resolved on, and the question only remained, how its respective parts were to be arranged. Gustavus Adolphus, at the head of a victorious army, had little resistance to apprehend, in his progress from Leipzig to Prague. Vienna, and Presburg, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, and Hungary, had been stripped of their defenders, while the oppressed Protestants in these countries were ripe for a revolution. Ferdinand was no longer secure in his capital; Vienna, on the first terror occasioned by surprise, would at once open its gates. With the loss of the territories which he took from the enemy, he would deprive him of those resources by which the war had been maintained, and Ferdinand would in all probability gladly accede to a peace which would remove a

formidable enemy from the heart of his dominions. This bold plan of operations would have been flattering to the pride of a conqueror, and might perhaps have been justified by success. But Gustavus Adolphus, equally prudent and bold, and more a statesman than a conqueror, rejected it, because he had a higher end in view, and did not choose to trust the issue either to bravery or good fortune alone.

By marching towards Bohemia, Franconia and the Upper Rhine must be left to the Elector of Saxony. But Tilly, who had already begun to recruit the wreck of his army from the garrisons in Lower Saxony and the reinforcements he had raised, was soon likely to be at the head of a formidable force upon the Weser, and to lose no time in marching against the enemy. To so experienced a General, an Arnheim could not be opposed, of whose military talents the battle of Leipzig had exhibited a very questionable proof. And of what avail would be the rapid and brilliant career of the King in Bohemia and Austria, if Tilly should regain the pre-eminence in the empire, animating the courage of the Catholics, and disarming the allies and confederates of the King, by a new series of victories? What could he gain by expelling the Emperor from his hereditary dominions, if Tilly was to succeed in conquering for that Emperor the rest of Germany? Could he hope to gain more from the Emperor than had been twelve years before effected by the insurrection of Bohemia, which had failed to shake the firmness or exhaust that resources of the Prince, and from which he had risen more formidable than ever?

Less brilliant, but more solid and secure, were the advantages which he might derive from an in-

cursion into the territories of the League. In this quarter his appearance in arms would be decisive. At this moment the princes were convened in a diet at Frankfort, concerning the Edict of Restitution, where Ferdinand put in action the whole force of his artful policy, to persuade the intimidated Protestants to accede to a speedy and disadvantageous arrangement. Nothing but the advance of their protector could animate them to a courageous resistance, or frustrate the attempts of the Emperor. Gustavus Adolphus had reason to hope that his presence would unite these discontented Princes, or the terror of his arms would detach them from the Emperor's party. Here, in the centre of Germany, he could paralyse the nerves of the Imperial power, which could not subsist without the assistance of the League; here, in the vicinity of France, he could watch the motions of a suspicious ally; and, important to his secret views, as he felt the friendship of the Catholic Electors to be, he saw the necessity of rendering himself, in the first place, master of their fate, that he might afterwards establish a claim to their gratitude by his magnanimous forbearance.

He accordingly chose the route to Franconia and the Rhine, and left the conquest of Bohemia to the Elector of Saxony.

APPENDIX.

LIFE OF SCHILLER.

I. CORRESPONDENCE.

A few extracts from the Correspondence of Schiller may tend to throw some farther light on his amiable domestic character. The first two, which we quote, are addressed to the Baron Von Dalberg, and relate to his first dramatic production the *Robbers*.

“Stuttgard, 6th October 1781.

“Here then at last returns the luckless prodigal, the remodelled *Robbers* ! I am sorry that I have not kept the time, appointed by myself ; but a transitory glance at the number and extent of the changes I have made, will, I trust, be sufficient to excuse me. Add to this, that a contagious epidemic was at work in our military hospital, which, of course, interfered very often with my *otia poetica*. After finishing my work, I may assure you that I could engage with less effort of mind, and certainly with far more contentment, to compose a new piece, than to undergo the labour I have just concluded. The task was complicated and tedious. Here I had to correct an error, which naturally was rooted in the very ground-work of the play ; there, perhaps, to sacrifice a beauty to the limits of the stage, the humour of the pit, the stupidity of the gallery, or some such sorrowful convention ; and I need

not tell you, that as in nature, so on the stage, an idea, an emotion, can have only one suitable expression, one proper tone. A single alteration in a trait of character may give a new tendency to the whole personage, and, consequently, to his actions, and the mechanism of the piece which depends on them.

“ In the original, the Robbers are exhibited in strong contrast with each other ; and I dare maintain that it is difficult to draw half a dozen robbers in strong contrast, without in some of them offending the delicacy of the stage. In my first conception of the piece, I excluded the idea of its ever being represented in a theatre ; hence came it that Franz was planned as a *reasoning* villain ; a plan which, though it may content the thinking reader, cannot fail to vex and weary the spectator, who does not come to think, and who wants not philosophy but action.

“ In the new edition, I could not overturn this arrangement without breaking down the whole economy of the piece. Accordingly I can predict, with tolerable certainty, that Franz, when he appears on the stage, will not play the part which he has played with the reader. And, at all events, the rushing stream of the action will hurry the spectator over all the finer shadings, and rob him of a third part of the whole character.

“ Karl von Moor might chance to form an era on the stage ; except a few speculations, which, however work as indispensable colours in the general picture, he is all action, all visible life. Spiegelberg, Schweitzer, Hermann, are, in the strictest sense, personages for the stage ; in a less degree Amelia and the Father.

“ Written and oral criticisms I have endeavoured to turn to advantage. The alterations are important ; certain scenes are altogether new. Of this number, are Hermann's counter-plots to undermine the schemes of Franz ; his interview with that personage, which in the first composition of the work, was entirely and very unhappily forgotten. His interview with Amelia in the garden has been postponed to the succeeding act ; and my friends tell me that I could have fixed upon no better act than this, no better time than a few moments prior to the meeting of Amelia with Moor. Franz is brought a little nearer human nature ; but the mode of it is rather strange. A scene like his condemnation in the fifth act has never, to my know-

ledge, been exhibited on any stage ; and the same may be said of the scene where Amelia is sacrificed by her lover.

" If the piece should be too long, it stands at the discretion of the manager to abbreviate the speculative parts of it, or here and there, without prejudice to the general impression, to omit them entirely. But in the *printing*, I use the freedom humbly to protest against the leaving out of any thing. I had satisfactory reasons of my own for all that I allowed to pass ; and my submission to the stage does not extend so far, that I can have *holes* in my work, and mutilate the characters of men for the convenience of actors.

" In regard to the selection of costume, without wishing to prescribe any rules, I may be permitted to remark, that though in nature dress is unimportant, on the stage it is never so. In this particular, the taste of my Robber Moor will not be difficult to hit. He wears a plume ; for this is mentioned expressly in the play, at the time when he abdicates his office. I have also given him a baton. His dress should always be noble without ornament, unstudied but not negligent.

" A young but excellent composer is working at a symphony for my unhappy prodigal : I know, it will be masterly. So soon as it is finished, I shall take the liberty of offering it to you.

" I must also beg you to excuse the irregular state of the manuscript, the incorrectness of the penmanship. I was in haste to get the piece ready for you ; hence the double sort of handwriting in it ; hence also my forbearing to correct it. My copyist, according to the custom of all *reforming* calligraphers, I find, has wofully abused the spelling. To conclude, I recommend myself and my endeavours to the kindness of an honoured judge.

I am, " &c.

" *Stuttgard, 12th December 1781.*

" With the change projected by your Excellency, in regard to the publishing of my play, I feel entirely contented, especially as I perceive that by this means two interests that had become very alien, are again made one, without, as I hope, any prejudice to the results and the success of my work. Your Excellency, however, touches

on some other very weighty changes, which the piece has undergone from your hands; and these, in respect of myself, I feel to be so important, that I shall beg to explain my mind at some length regarding them. At the outset, then, I must honestly confess to you, I hold the projected transference of the action represented in my play, to the epoch of the *Lanfried*, and the suppression of Private Wars, with the whole accompaniment which it gains by this new position, as infinitely better than mine; and must hold it so, although the whole piece should go to ruin by it. Doubtless it is an objection, that in our enlightened century, with our watchful police and fixedness of statute, such a reckless gang should have arisen in the very bosom of the laws, and still more, have taken root and subsisted for years: doubtless the objection is well founded, and I have nothing to allege against it, but the license of poetry to raise the probabilities of the real world to the rank of true, and its possibilities to the rank of probable.

"This excuse, it must be owned, is little adequate to the objection it opposes. But when I grant your Excellency so much (and I grant it honestly, and with complete conviction), what will follow? Simply that my play has got an ugly fault at its birth, which fault, if I may say so, it must carry with it to its grave, that fault being interwoven with its very nature, and not to be removed without destruction of the whole.

"In the first place, all my personages speak in a style too modern, too enlightened for that ancient time. The dialect is not the right one. That simplicity so vividly presented to us by the author of *Goetz von Berlichingen*, is altogether wanting. Many long tirades, touches great and small, nay, entire characters are taken from the aspect of the present world, and would not answer for the age of Maximilian. In a word, this change would reduce the piece into something like a certain wood-cut which I remember meeting with in an edition of Virgil. The Trojans wore hussar boots, and King Agamemnon had a pair of pistols in his belt. I should commit a *crime* against the age of Maximilian, to avoid an *error* against the age of Frederick the Second.

"Again, my whole episode of Amelia's love would make a frightful contrast with the simple chivalry attachment of that period. Amelia would, at all hazards, need to be re-moulded into a chivalry maiden; and I need not

tell you that this character, and the sort of love which reigns in my work, are so deeply and broadly tinted into the whole picture of the Robber Moor, nay, into the whole piece, that every part of the delineation would require to be re-painted, before those tints could be removed. So likewise is it with the character of Franz, that speculative, metaphysico-refining knave.

“ In a word, I think I may affirm, that this projected transposition of my work, which, prior to the commencement, would have lent it the highest splendour and completeness, could not fail now, when the piece is planned and finished, to change it into a defective *quodlibet*, a crow with peacock's feathers.

“ Your Excellency will forgive a father this earnest pleading in behalf of his son. These are but words, and in the long run every theatre can make of any piece what they think proper; the author must content himself. In the present case, he looks upon it as a happiness that he has fallen into such hands. With Herr Schwann, however, I will make it a condition that, at least, he *print* the piece according to the first plan. In the theatre, I pretend to no vote whatever.

“ That other change relating to Amelia's death, was, perhaps even more interesting to me. Believe me, your Excellency, this was the portion of my play which cost me the greatest effort and deliberation, of all which the result was nothing else than this, that Moor *must* kill his Amelia, and that the action is even a *positive beauty*, in his character; on the one hand painting the ardent lover, on the other, the Bandit Captain, with the liveliest colours. But the vindication of this part is not to be exhausted in a single letter. For the rest, the few words which you propose to substitute in place of this scene, are truly exquisite, and altogether worthy of the situation. I should be proud of having written them.

“ As Herr Schwann informs me that the piece, with the music and indispensably necessary pauses, will last about five hours (too long for any piece!), a second curtailment of it will be called for. I should not wish that any but myself undertook this task, and I myself, *without the sight of a rehearsal, or of the first representation*, cannot undertake it.

“ If it were possible that your Excellency could fix the general rehearsal of the piece, some time between the

twentieth and the thirtieth of this month ; and make good to me the main expenses of a journey to you, I should hope, in some few days, I might unite the interest of the stage with my own, and give the piece that rounding off, which, without an actual view of the representation, cannot well be given it. On this point, may I request the favour of your Excellency's decision soon, that I may be prepared for the event.

" Herr Schwann writes me that a Baron von Gemmingen has given himself the trouble, and done me the honour, to read my piece. This Herr von Gemmingen, I also hear, is author of the *Deutsche Hausvater*. I long to have the honour of assuring him that I liked his *Hausvater* uncommonly, and admired in it the traces of a most accomplished man and writer. But what does the author of the *Deutsche Hausvater* care about the babble of a young apprentice ? If I should ever have the honour of meeting Dalberg at Manheim, and testifying the affection and reverence I bear him, I will then also press into the arms of that other, and tell him how dear to me such souls are as Dalberg and Gemmingen."

The next is written after his flight from Stuttgart.

[No date.]

" Your Excellency will have learned from my friends at Manheim, what the history of my affairs was up to your arrival, which unhappily I could not wait for. When I tell you that I am flying my country, I have painted my whole fortune. But the worst is yet behind. I have not the necessary means of setting my mishap at defiance. For the sake of safety, I had to withdraw from Stuttgart with the utmost speed, at the time of the Prince's arrival. Thus were my economical arrangements suddenly snapped asunder : I could not even pay my debts. My hopes had been set on a removal to Manheim ; there I trusted by your Excellency's assistance, that my new play might not only have cleared me of debt, but have permanently put me into better circumstances. All this was frustrated by the necessity for hastening my removal. I went empty away ; empty in purse and hope. I blush at being forced to make such disclosures to you ; though I know they do

not disgrace me. Sad enough for me to see realized in myself the hateful saying, that mental growth and full stature are things denied to every Swabian !

“ If my former conduct, if all that your Excellency knows of my character, inspires you with confidence in my love of honour, permit me frankly to ask your assistance. Pressingly as I now need the profit I expect from my *Fiesco*, it will be impossible for me to have the piece in readiness before three weeks : my heart was oppressed ; the feeling of my own situation drove me back from my poetic dreams. But if at the specified period, I could make the play not only *ready*, but as I hope *worthy*, I take courage from that persuasion, respectfully to ask that your Excellency would be so obliging as *advance* for me the price that will then become due. I need it now, perhaps more than I shall ever do again throughout my life. I had near 200 florins of debt in Stuttgart, which I could not pay. I may confess to you, that this gives me more uneasiness, than any thing about my future destiny. I shall have no rest, till I am free on *that* side.

“ In eight days, too, my travelling purse will be exhausted. It is yet utterly impossible for me to labour with my mind. In my hand therefore are at present no resources.

* * *

“ My actual situation being clear enough from what I have already said, I hold it needless to afflict your Excellency with my *importuning picture* of my want. Speedy aid is all that I can now think of or wish. Herr Meyer has been requested to communicate your Excellency's resolution to me, and to save you from the task of writing to me in person at all. With peculiar respect, I call myself, ” &c.

The next is on a subject of a different kind. It is addressed to Schwann, the father of the lady, who, under the name of Laura, was the theme of many of Schiller's early lyrical effusions.

“ You have an indubitable right to be angry at my long silence ; yet I know your goodness too well to be in doubt that you will pardon me.

“ When a man, unskilled as I am in the busy world, visits Leipzig for the first time, during the Fair, it is, if not

excuseable, at least intelligible, that among the multitude of strange things running through his head, he should for a few days lose recollection of himself. Such, my dearest friend, has till to-day been nearly my case ; and even now I have to steal from many avocations the pleasing moments, which, in idea, I mean to spend with you at Mannheim.

“ Our journey hither, of which Herr Götz will give you a circumstantial description, was the most dismal you can well imagine, Bog, Snow, and Rain, were the three wicked foes that by turns assailed us ; and though we used an additional pair of horses, all the way from Bach, yet our travelling, which should have ended on Friday, was spun out till Sunday. It is universally maintained, that the Fair has visibly suffered by the shocking state of the roads ; in my eyes, at all events, the crowd of sellers and buyers is far *beneath* the description I used to get of it in the Empire.

“ In the very first week of my residence here, I made innumerable new acquaintances ; among whom, Weisse, Oeser, Hiller, Zollikofer, Professor Huber, Jünger, the famous actor Reinike, a few merchants’ families of the place, and some Berlin people, are the most interesting. During Fair-time, as you know well, a person cannot get the *full* enjoyment of any one : our attention to the individual is dissipated in the noisy multitude.

“ My most pleasant recreation hitherto has been to visit Richter’s coffee-house, where I constantly find half the *world* of Leipzig assembled, and extend my acquaintance with foreigners and natives.

“ From various quarters, I have had some alluring invitations to Berlin and Dresden ; which it will be difficult for me to withstand. It is quite a peculiar case, my friend, to have a literary name. The few men of worth and consideration who offer you their intimacy on that score, and whose regard is really worth coveting, are too disagreeably counterweighed by the baleful swarm of creatures, who keep humming round you like as many flesh-flies, gape at you as if you were at if you were a monster, and condescend, moreover, on the strength of one or two blotted sheets, to present themselves as colleagues. Many people cannot understand how a man that wrote the *Robbers* should look like another son of Adam. Close cut hair, at

the very least, and postillion's boots, and a hunter's whip were expected.

" Many families are in the habit here of spending the summer in some of the adjacent villages, and so enjoying the pleasures of the country. I mean to pass a few months in Gohlis, which lies only a quarter of a league from Leipzig, with a very pleasant walk leading to it, through the Rosenthal. Here I purpose being very diligent, working at *Carlos* and the *Thalia*; that so, which perhaps will please you more than any thing, I may gradually and silently return to my medical profession. I long impatiently for that epoch of my life, when my prospects may be settled and determined, when I may follow my darling pursuits merely for my own pleasure. At one time I studied medicine *con amore*; could I not do it now with still greater keenness?

" This, my best friend, might of itself convince you of the truth and firmness of my purpose; but what should offer you the most complete security on that point, what must banish all your doubts about my steadfastness, I have yet kept secret. *Now or never* I must speak it out. Distance alone gives me courage to express the wish of my heart. Frequently enough, when I used to have the happiness of being near you, has this confession hovered on my tongue; but my confidence always forsook me, when I tried to utter it. My best friend! Your goodness, your affection, your generosity of heart, have encouraged me in a hope, which I can justify by nothing but the friendship and respect you have always shown me. My free, unconstrained access to your house afforded me the opportunity of intimate acquaintance with your amiable daughter; and the frank, kind treatment with which both you and she honoured me, tempred my heart to entertain the bold wish of becoming your son. My prospects have hitherto been dim and vague; they now begin to alter in my favour. I will strive with more continuous vigour when the goal is clear; do you decide whether I can reach it, when the dearest wish of my heart supports my zeal.

" Yet two short years and my whole fortune will be determined. I feel how *much* I ask, how boldly, and with how little right I ask it. A year is past since this thought took possession of my soul, but my esteem for you and your excellent daughter was too high to allow room for a wish, which at that time I could found on no

solid basis. I made it a duty with myself to visit your house less frequently, and to dissipate such feelings by absence: but this poor artifice did not avail me.

"The Duke of Weimar was the first person to whom I disclosed myself. His anticipating goodness, and the declaration that he took an interest in my happiness, induced me to confess that this happiness depended on a union with your noble daughter; and he expressed his satisfaction at my choice. I have reason to hope that he will do more, should it come to the point of fulfilling my wishes in this matter.

"I shall add nothing farther: I know well that hundreds of others might afford your daughter a more splendid fate, than I at this moment can promise her; but that any other *heart* can be more worthy of her, I venture so deny. Your decision, which I look for with impatience and fearful expectation, will determine whether I may venture to write in person to your daughter. Fare you well, for ever loved by—Your—

"FRIEDRICH SCHILLER."

The following is also addressed to the same person three years afterwards.

"Weimar, May 2, 1788.

"You apologise for your long silence to spare me the pain of an apology. I feel this kindness, and thank you for it. You do not impute my silence to decay of friendship; a proof that you have read my heart more justly, than my evil conscience let me hope. Continue to believe that the memory of you lives ineffaceably in my mind, and needs not to be brightened up by the routine of visits, or letters of assurance. So no more of this.

"The peace and calmness of existence, which breathes throughout your letter gives me joy; I who am yet drifting to and fro between wind and waves, am forced to envy you that uniformity, that health of soul and body. To me also in time it will be granted, as a recompense for labours I have yet to undergo.

"I have now been in Weimar nearly three quarters of a year: after finishing my *Carlos*, I at last accomplished his long-projected journey. To speak honestly, I cannot

say but that I am exceedingly contented with the place ; and my reasons are not difficult to see.

“ The utmost political undisturbedness and freedom, a very tolerable disposition in the people, little constraint in social intercourse, a select circle of interesting persons and thinking heads, the respect paid to literary diligence : add to this the unexpensiveness to me of such a town as Weimar. Why should I not be satisfied ?

“ With Wieland I am pretty intimate, and to him I must attribute no small influence on my present happiness ; for I like him, and have reason to believe that he likes me in return. My intercourse with Herder is more limited, though I esteem him highly as a writer and a man. It is the caprice of chance alone which causes this ; for we opened our acquaintance under happy enough omens. Besides, I have not always time to act according to my likings. With Bode no one can be very friendly. I know not whether you think here as I do. Goethe is still but *expected* out of Italy. The Duchess Dowager is a lady of sense and talent, in whose society one does not feel constrained.

“ I thank you for your tidings of the fate of *Carlos* on your stage. To speak candidly, my hopes of its success on any stage were not high ; and I know my reasons. It is but fair that the Goddess of the Theatre avenge herself on me, for the little gallantry, with which I was inspired in writing. In the mean time, though *Carlos* prove a never so decided failure on the stage, I engage for it, our public shall see it ten times acted, before they understand and fully estimate the merit that should counterbalance its defects. When one has seen the beauty of a work, and not till then, I think one is entitled to pronounce on its deformity. I hear, however, that the second representation succeeded better than the first. This arises either from the changes made upon the piece by Dalberg, or from the fact, that on a second view, the public comprehended certain things, which on a first, they—did not comprehend.

“ For the rest, no one can be more satisfied than I am that *Carlos*, from causes honourable as well as causes dishonourable for it, is no speculation for the stage. Its very length were enough to banish it. Nor was it out of confidence or self-love that I forced the piece on such a trial ; perhaps, out of self-interest rather. If in the affair my

vanity played any part, it was in *this*, that I thought the work had solid stuff in it sufficient to outweigh its sorry fortune on the boards.

"The present of your portrait gives me true pleasure. I think it a striking likeness; that of Schubart a little less so, though this opinion may proceed from my faulty memory as much as from the faultiness of Lobauer's drawing. The engraver merits all attention and encouragement; what I can do for the extension of his good repute shall not be wanting.

"To your dear children present my warmest love. At Wieland's I hear much and often of *your eldest daughter*; there in a few days she has won no little estimation and affection. Do I still hold any place in her remembrance? Indeed, I ought to blush that by my long silence I so ill deserve 't.

"That you are going to my dear native country, and will not pass my Father without seeing him, was most welcome news to me. The Swabians are a good people; this I more and more discover, the more I grow acquainted with the other provinces of Germany. To my family you will be cordially welcome. Will you take a pack of compliments from me to them? Salute my Father in my name; to my Mother and my Sisters *your daughter* will take my kiss."

II. FRIENDSHIP WITH GOETHE.

The following account of Schiller's introduction to Goethe, is from the pen of the latter, and was inserted by him in a periodical work entitled the *Morphologie*.

"On my return to Italy," he says, "where I had been endeavouring to train myself to greater purity and precision in all departments of art, not heeding what meanwhile was going on in Germany, I found here some older and some more recent works of poetry, enjoying high esteem and wide circulation, while unhappily their character to me was utterly offensive. I shall only mention Heinse's *Ardinghello*, and Schiller's *Robbers*. The first I hated for its having undertaken to exhibit sensuality and mystical abstruseness, ennobled and supported by creative art: the last, because in it, the very paradoxes mora! and dramatic, from which I was struggling to get

liberated, had been laid hold of by a powerful though an immature genius, and poured in a boundless rushing flood over all our country.

“ Neither of these gifted individuals did I blame for what he had performed or purposed : it is the nature and the privilege of every mortal to attempt working in his own peculiar way ; he attempts it first without culture, scarcely with the consciousness of what he is about ; and continues it with consciousness increasing as his culture increases ; whereby it happens that so many exquisite and so many paltry things are to be found circulating in the world, and one perplexity is seen to rise from the ashes of another.

“ But the rumour which these strange productions had excited over Germany, the approbation paid to them by every class of persons, from the wild student to the polished court-lady, frightened me ; for I now thought all my labour was to prove in vain ; the objects and the way of handling them, to which I had been exercising all my powers, appeared as if defaced and set aside. And what grieved me still more, was that all the friends connected with me, Heinrich Meyer and Moritz, as well as their fellow artists Tischbein and Bury, seemed in danger of the like contagion. I was much hurt. Had it been possible, I would have abandoned the study of creative art, and the practice of poetry entirely ; for where was the prospect of surpassing those performances of genial worth and wild form, in the qualities which recommended them ? Conceive my situation. It had been my object and my task to cherish and impart the purest exhibitions of poetic art ; and here was I hemmed in between Ardinghello and Franz von Moor !

“ It happened also about this time that Moritz returned from Italy, and staid with me a while ; during which, he violently confirmed himself and me in these persuasions. I avoided Schiller, who was now at Weimar, in my neighbourhood. The appearance of *Don Carlos* was not calculated to approximate us ; the attempts of our common friends I resisted ; and thus we still continued to go on our way apart.”

“ His Essay on *Grace and Dignity* was yet less of a kind to reconcile me. The philosophy of Kant, which exalts the dignity of mind so highly, while appearing to restrict it, Schiller had joyfully embraced. It unfolded the extraordinary qualities which Nature had implanted

in him: and in the lively feeling of freedom and self-direction, he showed himself unthankful to the Great Mother, who surely had not acted like a step-dame towards him. Instead of viewing her as self-subsisting, as producing with a living force, and according to appointed laws, alike the highest and the lowest of her works, he took her up under the aspect of some empirical native qualities of the human mind. Certain harsh passages I could even directly apply to myself; they exhibited my confession of faith in a false light; and I felt that if written without particular attention to me, they were still worse; for in that case, the vast chasm which lay between us, gaped but so much the more distinctly.

"There was no union to be dreamed of. Even the mild persuasion of Dalberg, who valued Schiller as he ought, was fruitless. Indeed the reasons I set forth against any project of a union were difficult to contradict. No one could deny that between two spiritual antipodes there was more intervening than a simple diameter of the sphere: antipodes of that sort act as a sort of poles, and so can never coalesce. But that some relation may exist between them, will appear from what follows.

"Schiller went to live at Jena, where I still continued unacquainted with him. About this time Batsch had set in motion a Society for Natural History, aided by some handsome collections, and an extensive apparatus. I used to attend their periodical meetings: one day I found Schiller there; we happened to go out together; some discourse arose between us. He appeared to take an interest in what had been exhibited; but observed, with great acuteness and good sense, and much to my satisfaction, that such a disconnected way of treating Nature was by no means grateful to the exoteric, who desired to penetrate her mysteries.

"I answered, that perhaps the initiated themselves were never rightly at their ease in it, and that there surely was another way of representing Nature, not separated and disunited, but active and alive, and expanding from the whole into the parts. On this point he requested explanations, but did not hide his doubts; he would not allow that such a mode as I was recommending had been already pointed out by experiment.

"We reached his house; the talk induced me to go in. I then expounded to him, with as much vivacity as pos-

sible, the *Metamorphosis of Plants*, * drawing out on paper, with many characteristic strokes, a symbolic Plant for him, as I proceeded. He heard and saw all this with much interest and distinct comprehension; but when I had done, he shook his head and said, "This is no experiment, this is an idea." I stopt with some degree of irritation; for the point which separated us was most luminously marked by this expression. The opinions in *Dignity and Grace*, again occurred to me; the old grudge was just awakening; but I smothered it, and merely said, "I was happy to find that I had got ideas without knowing it, nay that I saw them before my eyes."

"Schiller had much more prudence and dexterity of management than I. He was also thinking of his periodical the *Horen*, about this time, and of course rather wished to attract than repel me. Accordingly he answered me like an accomplished Kantite; and as my stiff-necked Realism gave occasion to many contradictions, much battling took place between us, and at last a truce, in which neither party would consent to yield the victory, but each held himself invincible. Positions like the following grieved me to the very soul: *How can there ever be an experiment, that shall correspond with an idea? The specific quality of an idea is, that no experiment can reach it or agree with it.* Yet if he held as an idea, the same thing which I looked upon as an experiment, there must certainly, I thought, be some community between us, some ground whereon both of us might meet! The first step was now taken; Schiller's attractive power was great, he kept all close to him that came within his reach: I expressed an interest in his purposes, and promised to give out in the *Horen* many notions that were lying in my head; his wife, whom I had loved and valued since her childhood, did her part to strengthen our reciprocal intelligence; all friends on both sides rejoiced in it; and thus by means of that mighty and interminable controversy between *object* and *subject*, we two concluded an alliance, which remained unbroken, and produced much benefit to ourselves and others."

* "A curious physiologico-botanical theory by Goethe, which appears to be entirely unknown in this country, though several eminent continental botanists have noticed it with commendation. It is explained at considerable length, in this same *Morphologie*."—*Carlyle*.

III.

THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

TREATY OF AUGSBURG, FROM THE HISTORY OF THE EMPIRE
BY HEISS.

Extrait du Reces, ou Résultat conclu entre Ferdinand, Roi des Romains, & les Etats de l'Empire, en la Diète d'Ausbourg, l'an mil cinq cens cinquante-cinq, que l'on appelle communément la Paix de Religion.

Nous Ferdinand, par la grace de Dieu, Roi des Romains, Auguste, Roi d'Allemagne, Hongrie, Bohême, Dalmatie, Croatie, Esclavonie, &c. Infant d'Espagne, Archiduc d'Autriche, Duc de Bourgogne, Brabant, Stirie Carinthie, Carniole, Luxembourg, Wirtemberg, haute & basse Silésie, Prince de Suabe, Marquis du saint Empire Romain en Burgau, de Moravie, de la haute & basse Lusace, Comte Prince de Habsbourg, Tirol, Ferrete, Kybourg & Gortz, &c. Landgrave d'Alsace, Seigneur de la Marck, de Scalvonie, du Port de Naon & de Salins. Certifions & savoir faisons à tous & un chacun qu'il appartiendra, que diverses délibérations de Paix, ayant occupé longtems les Conseillers des Electeurs, les Princes & Etats présens, & les Députés des absens, lesquels ont appris par expérience, & par ce qui est déjà arrivé, que dans toutes les Diètes & Assemblées convoquées depuis plus de trente ans, on a fait & tenu en vain plusieurs négociations & conférences sur les moyens d'établir une Paix générale, ferme & constante entre les Etats du saint Empire, principalement touchant le point de la Religion ; & que l'on n'en a jamais trouvé d'assez efficaces pour ôter la mésintelligence & la méfiance des uns à l'égard des autres. Ce qui auroit produit de grandes contestations, & de grands désordres dans l'Empire ; en sorte que si on ne tâchoit d'y apporter du remède par quelque Traité, qui pût accorder la diversité des Religions, & faire voir à quoi les Etats de l'une & de l'autre Commune ont à s'en tenir, il n'y en auroit aucune parmi eux, & ils seroient perpétuellement exposés aux insultes les uns des autres. A ces causes pour lever cette incertitude dangereuse, remettre les

esprits des Etats & Sujets de l'Empire en repos, & dans une confiance mutuelle, & pour garantir en même tems l'Allemagne notre très-chère Patrie, de sa ruine & désolation totale, Nous nous sommes assemblés & avons délibéré avec les Conseillers des Electeurs, les Princes & Etats comparans, & les Envoyés & Députés des absens, & eux avec Nous.

I. Et en conséquence de ce, Nous statuons, ordonnons, voulons & mandons, qu'à l'avenir personne, de quelque dignité, qualité & état qu'elle soit, pour aucune raison, quelque nom qu'elle puisse avoir, & sous quelque prétexte qu'on puisse trouver, n'ait à attaquer qui que ce soit, ou lui faire la guerre ou aucun tort, dommage, invasion, siège, soit par soi-même, soit en se servant pour cela d'autres personnes, à occuper ou prendre par force & voye de fait, ou endommager par incendie ou aucune autre manière, au préjudice d'autrui, Château, Ville, Bourg, Forteresse, Village, Métairie & Hameau, Défendons pareillement de donner secours, logemens, retraites ou vivres à tels Destructeurs & Usurpateurs ; Voulant au contraire que chacun se traite avec amitié & charité Chrétienne.

II. Et pour cet effet nul Etat ou Membre de l'Empire n'interrompra ni ne coupera à quelqu'autre le libre passage des vivres, le commerce & se trafic, n'empêchera ses rentes, cens & revenus ; mais Sa Majesté Imperiale & Nous laisserons jouir tous les autres Etats ; & les Etats pareillement laisseront jouir Sa Majesté Imperiale & Nous, & les Etats les uns les autres, de toute la teneur & étendue de la pacification suivante de Religion & des Constitutions générales de Paix établies dans l'Empire.

III. Et afin que cette Paix puisse être faite, établie & observée plus fermement & exactement entre Sa Majesté Imperiale, Nous, & les Electeurs, Princes & Etats de l'Empire, & Nation Allemande (ainsi que la nécessité extrême de l'Empire le requiert, tant à cause de ces disputes de Religion, que pour autres raisons très-importantes) a été convenu que ni Sa Majesté Impériale, ni Nous, ni les Electeurs, Princes & Etats du saint Empire, n'attaquerons, ni endommagerons, ni ne violenterons en aucune manière par voye de fait ou hostilité, aucuns Etats de l'Empire pour raison de la Confession d'Ausbourg, de sa Doctrine, Religion & Foi, ne les déporterons contre leur conscience & volonté de cette Religion, Foi, Usages, Ré-

gles & Cérémonies d'Eglise, tant celles qui sont déjà instituées, que celles qu'ils pourroient encore instituer suivant la Confession d'Ausbourg.

IV. Que Nous ne les troublerons en leurs Principautés, Pays & Seigneuries, ne les molestrons ou mépriserons, par Mandemens ou autres tels Actes ; mais les laisserons jouir, tranquillement & paisiblement de l'exercice de cette Religion, Foi, Usages, Régles & Cérémonies d'Eglise, aussibien que de leurs Facultés, Biens meubles, immeubles, Provinces, Hommes, Domaines, Supériorités, Dignités & Jurisdictions. Et cette Religion différente ne sera ramenée à un sentiment & accord unanime que par des moyens doux & paisibles ; le tout sur la foi de la dignité Impériale & Royale, sur l'honneur & parole véritable de Prince, & sous la peine contenuë en la Paix générale.

V. Pareillement les Etats de la Confession d'Ausbourg, laisseront réciproquement Sa Majesté Impériale & Nous, aussi-bien que les Electeurs, Princes & Etats de l'Empire qui professent la Religion ancienne, Ecclésiastiques & Séculiers, leurs Chapitres & Etats Ecclésiastiques, quelque part où ils puissent avoir transféré leur résidence ; (bien entendu toutefois que l'on administerra ces Charges & Fonctions comme il en sera disposé ci-après par un article particulier) dans le libre, paisible & tranquille exercice de leur Religion, Foi, Usages, Regles & Cérémonies d'Eglise, & dans la possession de leurs Facultés, Biens meubles & immeubles, Pays, Hommes, Domaines, Supériorités, Dignités & Jurisdictions, Rentes, Cens, Dixmes, sans y attenter par voye de fait ou autrement, se contenant de la voye convenable & ordinaire de la Justice les uns envers les autres, conformément aux Loix, Ordonnances, & Constitutions du saint Empire, & à la Paix générale qui y est établie, le tout sur l'honneur & qualité de Princes, sous leur serment, and sous la peine contenuë en la Paix générale.

VI. Et pour les autres qui ne professent ni l'une ni l'autre de ces deux Religions, ils ne sont pas compris en cette Paix, mais en sont totalement exclus.

VII. Et comme sur la contestation qui s'est émuë pendant la négociation de cette Paix, où on a agité si uu ou plusieurs venoient à se séparer de la Religion ancienne, ce que l'on feroit de leurs Archevêchés, Evêchés, Prélatures ou Bénéfices, les Etats de l'une & de l'autre Reli-

gion n'ont pu rien régler. Nous, en vertu du pouvoir & de la permission de Sa Majesté Impériale, avons déclaré & ordonné, comme Nous le déclarons & ordonnons par ces présentes de notre certaine science, que si quelque Archevêque, Evêque, Prélat ou autre Ecclesiastique venoit à se separer de ladite Religion ancienne, il sera tenu d'abandonner en même tems, sans répugnance ni délai son Archevêché, Evêché, Prélature, ou autre Bénéfice avec tous les fruits, & revenus qu'il y possédoit, sans prejudice toutefois de son honneur ; & il sera permis aux Chapitres, ou à ceux à qui il appartient de droit ou de coutume d'Eglise, d'élire ou d'ordonner une personne de la Religion ancienne, laquelle demeurera de même paisiblement & sans empêchement avec les Chapitres & autres Eglises dans leurs Fondations Ecclesiastiques, Elections, Présentations, Confirmations, Anciennetés, Juridictions, & Biens meubles and immeubles, toutefois sans préjudice de l'accommodement à l'avenir qui pourra se faire finalement touchant la Religion à l'amiable, & comme il appartient à des Chrétiens.

§ VIII. D'autant que quelques Princes, Etat de l'Empire, & leurs predecesseurs ont usurpé & appliqué aux Eglises, Ecoles, & a autres usages, quelque Fondations, Monasteres & autres Biens d'Eglise, lesquels n'appartiennent point a ceux qui sont immédiatement sujets de l'Empire, & sont cependant Etats de l'Empire, & dont les Ecclesiastiques n'avoient pas la possession du tems de la Transaction de Passau, ni ne l'ont pas eu depuis, lesdits Biens seront compris dans la presente, pacification. Et on en demeurera pour ce regard a la disposition que chaque Etat se trouve avoir faite desdits Biens usurpes & alienes : et lesdits Etats que s'en sont emparés, ne seront point recherches ni poursuivis en Justice, ni hors de la Justice, pour raison de cesdits Biens ; & ce en vue de maintenir une Paix constante & perpetuelle ; defendons pour cette effet par cette présente Constitution, aux Juges & Assesseurs de la Chambre Impériale d'en connoître, ni de décerner aucune Sommation ou Citation, Mandement ou autre Procédure, pour raison desdits biens usurpes & aliénés.

IX. Et afin qu'un chacun de l'une & de l'autre Religion puisse être, & demeurer ensemble en une parfaite Paix, concorde & sureté, la Jurisdiction Ecclesiastique ne s'etendra point, ne n'aura aucun bien contre ceux de la

Confession d'Ausbourg, leur Religion & Foi, Convention, Pactions, Usages, Régles, & Cérémonies d'Eglise déjà établies, ou qui pourroient encore s'établir jusqu'à la reconciliation finale des Religions ce qui se doit entendre toutefois, sans préjudice des Ecclésiastiques Electeurs, Princes & Etats, Colléges, Monastères & Religieux, à l'égard de leurs rentes, cens, revenus & dixmes, des Fiefs séculiers, & des autres Droits & Jurisdictions; mais à cette Religion & Foi, ses Usages, Régles & Cérémonies d'Eglise, ses Exercices & fonctions, sera laissé leur cours ordinaire, comme il sera spécifié ci-après par un Article particulier, sans qu'il leur soit apporté aucun trouble ou empêchement; au moyen de quoi cette Jurisdiction Ecclésiastique demeurera, comme il a été dit, sur ce interdite & suspenduë, jusqu'à la réunion finale des Religions; mais en toutes les autres affaires & rencontres qui ne touchent pas la Confession d'Ausbourg, sa Religion & Foi, ses Usages, Régles, Cérémonies d'Eglise, ni les Fonctions des Ministres, ladite Jurisdiction Ecclésiastique sera & pourra être à l'avenir, comme elle est à présent exercée sans empêchement par les Archevêques, Evêques, & autre Prélats, ainsi que l'exercice en a été introduit en chaque lieu, & qu'il se trouve en usage, jouissance & possession.

X. Comme aussi aux Etats qui sont de la Religion ancienne, demeureront toutes leurs rentes, cens, censives, revenus & dixmes, ainsi qu'il a été dit, réservant toutefois à chaque Etat, sous la Justice duquel sont situés lesdites rentes, cens, revenus, dixmes ou biens, sa supériorité, Rentes, & Jurisdiction sur cesdits Biens, en la même manière qu'il l'avoit avant le commencement de cette division de Religion, & qu'elle étoit en usage, sans qu'il lui soit fait aucun tort; & ceux qui sont obligés d'administrer les fonctions des Eglises, Paroisses & Ecoles, les Aumônes & les Hôpitaux, retireront desdits Biens ce qu'il convient pour y pourvoir; & de même qu'ils faisoient auparavant, ils le feront encore, de quelque Religion qu'ils soient.

XI. Que si on venoit à avoir quelque différend ou méintelligence au sujet de cette administration, les Parties nommeront, pour accommoder leurs démêlés, une ou deux personnes pour Arbitres; lesquelles, cas avenant qu'elles ne puissent pas convenir entr'elles, choisiront un troisième qui ne sera point partial, & après avoir écouté sommaire-

ment les deux Parties, déclareront dans six semaines, combien & ce qui sera fourni pour l'entretienement desdites Charges ; & cependant ceux qui seront recherchés pour ladite administration, ne pourront être dépossédés de ces Biens qu'ils se trouveront occuper, & ces Biens ne pourront être saisis ni arrêtés avant que les Arbitres aient prononcé leur Sentence, pour la décision du différend, & ceux qui d'ancienneté y ont pourvu, seront aussi tenus d'y pourvoir pendant ce tems-là, & jusques à ladite décision.

XII. Les Etats de l'Empire ne porteront entr'eux par force ni par adresse à leur Religion aucun Etat ne ses Sujets, ni ne les prendront en leur protection, ou défendront en aucune manière contre leurs Seigneurs, ce qui toutefois ne doit point préjudicier ni rein retrancher à ceux qui ont auparavant accepté des Protecteurs.

XIII. Que si nos Sujets, ou ceux des Electeurs, Princes & Etats de l'une ou de l'autre Religion, vouloient, à cause de leur Religion, sortir de nos Pays, Principautés, Villes & Bourgs, ou de ceux des Electeurs, Princes & Etats du S. Empire, & se retirer & demeurer avec leurs femmes & enfans en quelqu'autre lieu ; cela leur sera permis & accordé à tous ; comme aussi la vente de leurs biens & facultés sans empêchement, & sans préjudice de leur honneur & de leur serment, moyennant un dédommagement raisonnable pour la propriété de leurs personnes, comme il a été pratiqué & observé d'ancienneté en chaque lieu : Ne dérogera toutefois la présente disposition, ni ne préjudiciera en rien à la Jurisdiction, que les Seigneurs ont d'ancienneté sur leurs Sujets ou Gens propres, pour en avoir déclaré quelques uns libres ou non libres.

XIV. Et d'autant que l'on doit rechercher par voyes raisonnable & équitables, une réconciliation parfaite dans ce qui concerne la Religion, & qu'il n'est pas bien facile d'y parvenir sans une paix ferme & constante, Nous ensemble les Conseillers des Electeurs, en la place des Electeurs mêmes, les Princes & Etats présents, & les Députés & Envoyés des absens, tant Ecclésiastiques que Seculiers, avons stipulé cette suspension d'hostilités en faveur de cette chère Paix, pour ôter la méfiance qui régné parmi les peuples, à la ruine de l'Empire, garantir cette louable Nation de la désolation dont elle est menacée, & pouvoir d'autant plutôt parvenir à une réunion Chrétienne,

paisible & finale des différentes Religions : observerons inviolablement la présente pacification, & l'exécuterons fidèlement en tous les Articles, jusqu'à la réunion Chrétienne, paisible & finale des Religions ; & arrivant que cette union ne s'ensuivît pas par la voye du Concile général, ni par celles des Assemblées Nationelles, & négociations qui s'en seront dans l'Empire, cette suspension néanmoins ne laissera pas de subsister & de demeurer dans sa force & vertu en tous ses points & articles jusqu'à ladite reconciliation finale de Religion ; & pour cet effet non seulement elle demeurera établie & conclue en la manière susdite, mais passera même en tout événement pour une Paix ferme, constante & perpétuelle, en vertu des présentes.

XV. La Noblesse libre, qui est immédiatement soumise à Sa Majesté & à Nous, sera pareillement comprise en cette Paix ; en sorte qu'elle ne soit en aucune manière violente, molestée, ou grévée par qui que ce soit pour le sujet de la Religion.

XVI. Dans les Villes libres Impériales, ou la Religion ancienne a eu cours & usage, aussi bien que celle de la Confession d'Ausbourg depuis quelque tems, les Bourgeois & autres Habitans, tant Ecclésiastiques que Séculiers, demeureront ensemble paisiblement & tranquillement, ainsi que lesdits Etats supérieurs immédiats de l'Empire, en la possession & jouissance de leur Religion & Foi, de leurs Usages, Régles & Cérémonies d'Eglise, de leurs Facultés, Biens & autres choses, sans s'y troubler, inquiéter, & donner aucun obstacle les uns les autres.

XVII. Tout ce que se trouvera, ou se pourroit alléguer contraire à cette réserve, & à tous ses points & articles dans les précédentes Constitutions, n'y préjudiciera ni dérogera en aucune manière ; & on ne pourra procéder contre la présente Convention, ni par la voye de la justice ni par aucune autre voye.

XVIII. Ce qui étant ainsi convenu & accordé, Sa Majesté Impériale & Nous, promettons sur nos dignités & paroles Impériale & Royale, de l'observer & exécuter inviolablement, ferment & sincèrement pour Nous & nos Successeurs, à l'égard de chaque Article concernant Sa Majesté Impériale & Nous, sans y contrevenir par nos propres autorités, ou sous quelque autre prétexte ou nom que ce puisse être, ni permettre qu'on y contrevienne, ou que l'on entreprenne, traite, ou publie quelque chose au

contraire de la part de Sa Majesté Impériale ou de la nôtre.

XIX. Pareillement Nous Conseillers Députés des Electeurs, au lieu & place de leurs Altesses Electorales, & pour leurs successeurs & héritiers ; & Nous comparans Princes, Prélats, Comtes & Barons ; & de même, Nous Envoyés, Députés & Plénipotentiaires des absens Princes, Prélats, Comtes & Barons, & des Villes libres Impériales, au nom & de la part de nos Seigneurs & Supérieurs pour leurs successeurs & héritiers consentons & promettons sur l'honneur & la dignité de Prince, en toute bonne conscience & parole-de vérité, & aussi sur notre foi & fidélité autant que cela touche, ou pourroit toucher un chacun, comme il est dit ci-dessus, de l'observer constamment, sincèrement, inviolablement, & de l'accomplir fidèlement.

XX. De plus, Nous nous engageons & obligeons réciproquement tous à toutes les Parties stipulantes, que ne Sa Majesté Impériale, ni Nous, ni aucun Etat, sous quelque prétexte que ce puisse être, ne foulerons, usurperons, violenterons, attaquerons, presserons, lézerons, ou molesterons qui que ce soit, de fait ou autrement, en aucune manière, secrètement ou publiquement par Nous-même, ou par d'autres en notre nom ; & si quelque Partie & Etat venoit présentement ou à l'avenir à faire la guerre à un autre, ou à la violenter ou molester de fait, secrètement ou publiquement au préjudice de cette Paix faite, (ce que toutefois on n'espère pas) Sa Majesté, Nous & eux, aussi Nous & leurs successeurs & héritiers, ne donnerons à cet Usurpateur, ou à cette action violente ainsi attentée, ni conseil, ni assistance ; mais au contraire assisterons fidèlement la Partie ou l'Etat violenté & lésé au préjudice de cette Paix, contre celui qui fait & exerce cette guerre & cette violence.

XXI. Mandons & ordonnons aussi par ces présentes, & en vertu de ce notre Recès & Résultat Impérial aux Juges & Assesseurs de la Chambre Impériale, de se tenir & conformer à cette présente suspension, & de rendre la justice aux Parties qui réclameront cette pacification, de quelque Religion qu'elles puissent être : comme aussi de ne décerner ni action, ni Mandement, & de ne faire ni traiter quoi que ce soit en aucune manière qui pût être contraire aux présentes.

Les autres Articles concernent les affaires séculières de

sera accordé, obtenu & reçu aucune Déclaration ou aucune autre chose contraire à la paix de Religion, & en cas qu'on l'accordât, obtint ou recut, elle ne sera d'aucune valeur (ainsi qu'elle est plus amplement conçue) non seulement demeurera inviolable, mais qu'elle subsistera toujours en toute sa force, dignité & vertu. En foi, & pour plus grande sureté de quoi, Nous avons soussigné le tout de notre propre main, & y avons fait apposer notre Sceau Royal. DONNE' en notre Ville Impériale d'Ausbourg le 24. Septembre 1555.

Signé, FERDINAND.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

THE
HISTORICAL WORKS
OF
FREDERICK SCHILLER.

FROM THE GERMAN,
BY GEORGE MOIR, Esq.
TRANSLATOR OF "WALLENSTEIN."

VOL. II.
THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.
TRIAL OF COUNTS EGMONT AND HORN.
THE SIEGE OF ANTWERP.

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HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

BOOK III.

THE glorious victory of Gustavus Adolphus at Leipzig, had effected a great change in the conduct of that monarch, as well as in the opinion entertained of him both by his friends and foes. He had confronted himself with the most consummate general of his time, had tried the strength of his tactics, and the courage of his Swedes, against the Imperial army, consisting of the most experienced troops in Europe, and had been successful in the trial. From this moment he felt that firm confidence in his own powers, which has always been the parent of great actions. In all his future operations, a bolder and more decided course of policy was observable; greater resolution, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, a more lofty tone towards his adversaries, more dignity in

his bearing towards his allies, and even in his clemency, something of the condescension of a conqueror. His natural courage was still farther heightened by the influence of his enthusiastic imagination. He readily confounded his own cause with that of heaven, and beheld, in the defeat of Tilly, the decisive interference of Providence against his enemies, which he regarded himself as the instrument of the Divine vengeance. Leaving his kingdom and his country far behind him, he now pressed forward on the wings of victory into the heart of Germany, which for centuries had seen no foreign enemy within its bosom. The warlike disposition of its inhabitants, the vigilance of its numerous princes, the artful connection of its states, the number of its fortresses, the course of its broad and numerous rivers, had from time immemorial restrained within bounds the ambition of its neighbours; and frequently as the frontier of this extensive confederation had been attacked, its interior had hitherto been safe from any hostile invasion. Hitherto the Empire had enjoyed the questionable privilege of being its own enemy, and of being secure against any foreign force. Even now, it was merely the want of unity among its members and the intolerance of religious zeal, that paved the way for the Swedish invader. The bond of connexion between the States, which alone rendered the Empire invincible, was now dissolved; and Gustavus derived from Germany itself the means of subjecting it. He availed himself, with equal courage and prudence, of the favourable moment; and equally at home in the Cabinet and the field, he tore asunder the web of the Emperor's artful policy, with as much ease, as he

shattered his walls with the thunder of his cannon. He pursued his conquests without interruption from one side of Germany to the other, yet without losing for a moment the means of effecting a secure retreat ; and whether on the banks of the Rhine, or the mouth of the Lech, equally maintaining his communication with his hereditary dominions.

The consternation of the Emperor and of the Catholic League, at the defeat of Tilly at Leipzig, could scarcely exceed the surprise and embarrassment of the Swedish allies at the King's unexpected success ; which had exceeded alike their expectations, and their wishes. The formidable army which had impeded his progress, set bounds to his ambition, and rendered him in some measure dependent on themselves, was at once annihilated. Without a rival, or an opponent who could make head against him, he had now gained a firm footing in the heart of Germany ; nothing could oppose his progress, or bound his encroachments, if, in the intoxication of success, he should be inclined to abuse his victory. If they had formerly dreaded the preponderance of the Emperor, there was now equal reason for apprehending the destruction of the constitution of the Empire by a foreign invader, and the ruin of the Catholic Church in Germany by the religious zeal of a Protestant monarch. The distrust and jealousy of some of the combined powers, which had for a time been set at rest by the stronger feeling of dread of the Emperor, was now rekindled ; and scarcely had Gustavus Adolphus justified the confidence reposed on him by his courage and success, when they began to oppose every obstacle to his plans.

His conquests must now be made in opposition to the artful policy of his enemies, and the mistrust of his own allies ; yet, his resolution, penetration and prudence, overcame all impediments. While the success of his arms excited the jealousy of his more powerful allies, France and Saxony, it raised the courage of the weaker, and emboldened them openly to declare their sentiments and join his party. These States, who were neither disposed to contend with Gustavus Adolphus in importance, nor likely to suffer from his ambition, had the more to expect from the magnanimity of their powerful ally, who enriched them with the spoils of the enemy, and protected them against the oppression of their more powerful neighbours. His strength concealed their weakness, and, inconsiderable in themselves, they derived importance from their union with the hero of Sweden. This was the case with most of the free cities, and particularly with the inferior protestant towns. It was by means of these that the King was introduced into the heart of Germany ; by these his rear was covered, his armies supplied with necessities, his troops received into their fortresses, while their lives were exposed in his battles. His prudent regard to their national pride, his amiable deportment, some signal acts of justice, and his respect for the laws, were so many ties by which he attached to him the German Protestants ; while the atrocious barbarities of the Imperialists, the Spaniards, and the troops of Lorraine powerfully contributed to place in a favourable light his own conduct and that of his army.

If Gustavus Adolphus was principally indebted for his success to his own genius, it must not at

the same time be disguised, that he was greatly favoured by fortune, and by circumstances. He had two great advantages on his side that gave him a decided superiority over the enemy. While he carried the scene of war into the territories of the League, recruited his armies with their inhabitants, enriched himself with booty, and used the revenues of their fugitive princes as his own, he was at once depriving the enemy of the means of effectual resistance, and maintaining an expensive war with little cost to himself. And while his opponents, the princes of the League, divided by distinct, and often by contradictory interests, acted without unity, and consequently without energy; while their generals wanted authority, their troops were deficient in obedience, their scattered armies destitute of all concert and connection; while the leader was separated from the sovereign and the statesman; both were united in Gustavus Adolphus, the source from which all authority was derived, the object to which alone the eye of the warrior was directed; the animating soul of his party, at once the inventor and the executor of his plans. In him, therefore, the Protestant party possessed a principle of unity and harmony in which the Catholics were entirely deficient. No wonder then, that, favoured by such advantages, placed at the head of such an army, endowed with such a genius to use it, and guided by such policy and prudence, Gustavus Adolphus was irresistible.

With the sword in one hand, and mercy in the other, he traversed Germany as a conqueror, a lawgiver, and a judge, almost with as much rapidity as another could have done on a journey

of pleasure, while the keys of towns and fortresses were delivered to him by the inhabitants as to their native sovereign. No fortress seemed impregnable, no river interrupted his victorious career; he conquered by the very terror of his name. The Swedish standards were seen flying along the whole course of the Maine: the Lower Palatinate was free, the Spaniards and the troops of Lorraine had fled across the Rhine and the Moselle. The Swedes and Hessians poured like a torrent into the territories of Mentz, of Wurtzburg, and Bamberg, and three fugitive bishops, at a distance from their sees, paid dearly for their attachment to the Emperor. Maximilian, the leader of the League, was at last destined to feel with his own territories, the miseries he had inflicted upon others. Neither the fate of his confederates, nor the favourable offer of Gustavus, who in the midst of his career of conquest was ever willing to make offer of peace, could overcome the obstinacy of this prince. With the fall of Tilly, who had hitherto protected these territories like a guardian angel, the torrent of war poured into Bavaria. The banks of the Lech, like those of the Rhine, were crowded with Swedish troops; while the defeated Elector, trembling in his fortresses, abandoned to the foe those dominions which had hitherto escaped the devastation of war, and in which the violence formerly practised by the bigotted Bavarians seemed to invite retaliation. Munich itself opened its gates to the invincible monarch, and the fugitive Elector Frederick V., was enabled for a time to console himself, in the forsaken residence of his rival, for the loss of his dominions.

While Gustavus Adolphus was pursuing his conquests in the south, and driving the enemy with irresistible impetuosity before him, his generals and allies were not less successful in the other provinces. Lower Saxony shook off the Imperial yoke; Mecklenburg was abandoned by the enemy, and the Austrian garrisons driven from the banks of the Weser and the Elbe. In Westphalia and the Upper Rhine, William Landgrave of Hesse, rendered himself formidable; the Duke of Weimar in Thuringia, and the French in the Electorate of Treves; while to the eastward the whole kingdom of Bohemia was conquered by the Swedes. The Turks were already preparing for an attack on Hungary, and a dangerous insurrection was on the point of breaking out in the heart of Austria. In vain did the Emperor look around to the courts of Europe in the hope of strengthening himself by foreign support; in vain did he summon the Spaniards to his assistance, to whom the bravery of the Flemings afforded ample employment beyond the Rhine; in vain did he endeavour to engage in his cause the Roman court, and the Catholic church. The offended Pope sported with the embarrassment of Ferdinand by pompous processions and idle anathemas, and instead of the expected supplies from Italy, he was reminded of the devastation of Mantua.

On all sides of his extensive territories he was now surrounded by hostile weapons. With the States of the League, now overrun by the enemy, those ramparts were gone behind which the power of Austria had so long stood secure, and the flame of war was fast approaching her unguarded frontiers. His most zealous allies were disarmed;

Maximilian of Bavaria, formerly his most efficient support, now scarce capable of defending himself: The Imperial armies, weakened by desertion and repeated defeat, and discouraged by a long series of misfortunes, had lost, under the conduct of unsuccessful generals, that warlike confidence which is at once the consequence and the cause of victory. The danger was at its height, and extraordinary means alone could extricate him from the abasement into which he had fallen.

The greatest want was that of a General; and the only one from whose exertions he had reason to anticipate the revival of his former success, had been removed, by an envious cabal, from the command of the army. So low had the Emperor now fallen, that he was glad to enter into a humiliating proposal to his injured subject and servant, and meanly to restore to the imperious Friedland the power of which he had been as shamefully deprived. A new spirit then began to animate the expiring body of Austria; and the sudden change of affairs showed the firmness of the hand which guided them. The absolute King of Sweden was now opposed to a general equally absolute; a victorious hero to one not less successful. Both armies were now to renew the struggle; and victory, already almost in the hands of Gustavus Adolphus, was to be exposed to another and a severer trial. The storm of war gathered around Nuremberg; before its walls the hostile armies encamped; gazing on each other with breathless anxiety, longing for, and yet trembling at the moment that was to blend them together in the shock of conflict. The eyes of Europe were directed to this scene of contest with curiosity and fear,

while Nuremberg, filled with deep anxiety, expected to give name to a more decisive battle than that of Leipzig. At once the clouds broke up, and the storm rolled on towards Franconia, to burst upon the plains of Saxony. Near Lutzen fell the thunder that had menaced Nuremberg ; the victory, half lost, was purchased by the death of a King. Fortune, which had never forsaken him in his lifetime, favoured the King of Sweden even in his death, with the privilege of falling in the fulness of his glory, and the unsullied purity of his fame. By a timely death his protecting Angel saved him from the unavoidable fate of man ; that of forgetting moderation in the intoxication of success, and justice in the plenitude of power. We may be permitted to doubt, if with a longer life he would so well have merited the tears which Germany shed above his grave, or the admiration with which posterity have regarded the first and only just Conqueror. With the fall of their great leader, it is true there was reason to apprehend the ruin of his party ; but to that Power which governs the world, the loss of no single man can be irreparable. Two great statesmen, Oxenstiern in Germany, and Richelieu in France, took the guidance of the helm of war as it dropped from his hand ; destiny pursued its relentless course over his tomb, and the flame of war blazed for 16 years longer above the ashes of the departed hero.

I may be permitted shortly to follow the victorious march of Gustavus Adolphus ; rapidly to review the scenes in which he alone is the great actor, and then, when Austria, reduced to extremity by the successes of the Swedes, and by a series of disasters, is constrained to have recourse to

the most humiliating and desperate expedients, to lead back the thread of the narrative to the Emperor.

No sooner was the plan of operations concerted at Halle, between the King of Sweden and the Elector of Saxony, by which the attack on Bohemia was intrusted to the latter, and that of the territories of the League to Gustavus Adolphus; —no sooner had the alliance been concluded with the neighbouring princes of Weimar and Anhalt, and preparations made for the recovery of the bishopric of Magdeburg, than the King began his march into the empire. He had still to contend with no despicable foe. The Emperor was still powerful within the empire, while Imperial garrisons were scattered over the whole of Franconia, Swabia, and the Palatinate, from whose hands every place of importance must be wrested sword in hand. On the Rhine he was opposed by the Spaniards, who had overrun the whole territory of the banished Palatine, possessed themselves of all his strong places, and would dispute with him every passage over that river. In his rear was Tilly, who was already fast recruiting his strength, and was soon to be joined by the auxiliaries from Lorraine. In the breast of every Catholic he was opposed by the inveterate spirit of religious hatred, while his connexion with France did not leave him at liberty to act with freedom against the Catholics. All these obstacles Gustavus had foreseen, but he foresaw at the same time how they were to be overcome. The strength of the Imperialists lay scattered in different garrisons, while he himself had the advantage of attacking them with his united force. If opposed by the fanaticism of the

Roman Catholics, and the dread which the lesser states entertained of the Emperor, he had every thing to hope from the active support of the Protestants, and their hatred to Austrian oppression. The excesses of the Imperialists, and of the Spanish troops, had powerfully aided him in these quarters; where the injured husbandman and citizen had long awaited a deliverer, and where the mere change of the yoke seemed to be regarded as a diminution of the burden. Emissaries had been already despatched to gain over to the Swedish side the more powerful free cities, particularly Nuremberg and Frankfort. Erfurt was the first town which lay in the King's way, and which he could not leave unoccupied in his rear. A successful negotiation with the Protestant part of the citizens opened to him, without a blow, the gates of the town and the citadel. Here, as in every important place which afterwards fell into his hands, he exacted an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, while he secured its possession by a sufficient garrison. To his ally, Duke William of Weimar, he intrusted the command of an army to be raised in Thuringia. He also left his Queen in Erfurt, and promised to increase its privileges. The Swedish army now crossed the Thuringian Forest in two columns, by Gotha and Cronstadt, wresting the country of Henneberg from the hands of the Imperialists in its march, and forming a junction on the third day near Koenigshofen, on the frontiers of Franconia.

Francis Bishop of Wurtzburg, the most virulent enemy of the Protestants, and the most zealous member of the Catholic League, was the first who felt the indignation of Gustavus Adolphus. A few

threats were sufficient to put the Swedes in possession of his fortress of Koenigshofen, and with it the key of the whole province. Consternation seized all the Catholic towns of the Circle at the news of this rapid conquest. The Bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg trembled in their residences ; they already saw their Sees tottering, their churches profaned, their religion in the dust. The malice of his enemies had circulated the most frightful representations of the persecuting spirit of the Swedes, and their mode of conducting the war ; the effect of which neither the repeated assurances of the King, nor the most brilliant examples of humanity and toleration, were able entirely to efface. The people feared to receive at the hands of another the treatment which in similar circumstances they had been accustomed to inflict. Many of the richest Catholics fled to secure their property, their religion, and their persons from the sanguinary fanaticism of the Swedes. The Bishop himself set the example to his subjects. In the midst of the confusion, which his bigotted zeal had caused, he abandoned his dominions, and fled to Paris, to excite if possible the French ministry against the common enemy of their religion.

The progress which Gustavus Adolphus in the mean time continued to make in the Ecclesiastical territories, was suited to this brilliant commencement. Schweinfurt, and soon afterwards Wurtzburg, abandoned by their Imperial garrisons, surrendered to him ; Marienberg he was obliged to carry by storm. In this place, which was supposed to be impregnable, the enemy had collected a large store of provisions and ammunition, all of

which fell into the hands of the Swedes. The King found a valuable prize in the library of the Jesuits, which he caused to be transported to Upsal, while his soldiers found a still more agreeable one in the well filled wine-cellar of the Prelate ; his treasures the Bishop had taken the precaution to remove before. The whole bishoprick followed the example of the capital, and submitted to the Swedes. The King compelled the subjects of the Bishop to swear allegiance to him, and, in the absence of the legitimate sovereign, formed a regency, one half of which was composed of Protestants. In every Catholic town of which Gustavus Adolphus made himself master, he opened the churches to the Protestant people, but without retaliating on the Catholics the oppression they had exercised towards their Protestant brethren. In one only which forcibly opposed him were the rights of war enforced ; and for the occasional acts of violence committed by lawless individuals in the blind rage of their first attack, their humane leader is not justly answerable. Those who were peaceably disposed or defenceless, were treated with mildness. It was a sacred principle of Gustavus to spare the blood of his enemies, as well as that of his own troops.

On the first news of the Swedish irruption, the Bishop of Wurtzburg, disregarding the treaty, which, in order to gain time, he had entered into with the King of Sweden, had earnestly pressed the general of the League to hasten to the assistance of the bishoprick. That defeated commander had, in the mean time, been collecting the wreck of his army on the Weser, reinforcing himself by the garrisons

of Lower Saxony, and effecting a junction in Hesse with Altringer and Fugger, who commanded under him. Again at the head of a considerable force, Count Tilly burned with impatience to efface the disgrace of his first defeat by a brilliant victory. In his camp at Fulda to which he had marched with his army, he used every exertion to obtain permission from the Duke of Bavaria to give battle to Gustavus Adolphus. But the League had no second army to lose in the event of Tilly's defeat, and Maximilian was far too cautious to risk the fate of his party on the fortune of another battle. With tears in his eyes did Tilly receive the commands of his superior, which compelled him to remain inactive. Thus his march towards Franconia was delayed, till Gustavus Adolphus had time to overrun the whole bishopric. It was in vain that Tilly, reinforced at Aschaffenburg by a farther addition of 12,000 troops from Lorraine, marched with an overwhelming force to the relief of Wurtzburg. The town and citadel was already in the hands of the Swedes, and Maximilian of Bavaria was generally blamed (perhaps not undeservedly) for having occasioned the ruin of the bishopric by his scruples. Compelled to avoid a battle, Tilly contented himself with checking the farther advance of the enemy; but few of the towns could be saved from the impetuosity of the Swedes. After an ineffectual attempt to throw a reinforcement into Hanau, which was but weakly garrisoned, and the possession of which was of the utmost importance to the Swedes, he crossed the Main, near Seligenstadt, and took the direction of the Bergstrasse, to protect the Palatinate against the attack of the King.

Count Tilly was not the sole enemy whom Gustavus Adolphus met and drove before him in Franconia. Charles Duke of Lorraine, celebrated in the annals of the time for the unsteadiness of his character, his vain projects, and his misfortunes, had ventured to raise his weak arm against the Swedish hero, in the view of obtaining from the Emperor Ferdinand the Electoral dignity. Deaf to the suggestions of prudence, he listened only to the dictates of a restless ambition ; exasperated France, his formidable neighbour, against him by supporting the Emperor ; and in the pursuit of a visionary phantom in another country, stripped his dominions of the means of defence, which were instantly overrun by a French army. Austria readily yielded to him, as she had done to others, the honour of ruining himself in her cause. Intoxicated with vain hopes, this Prince collected an army of 17,000 men, which he proposed to lead in person against the Swedes. If these troops were deficient in discipline and courage, they could at least boast of a splendid equipment ; and in proportion as they were sparing of their prowess against the enemy, they were liberal in displaying it against the defenceless citizens and peasantry, for whose defence they were summoned. This splendidly attired army, however, made but a poor stand against the bravery and the formidable discipline of the Swedes. A panic terror seized them on the advance of the Swedish cavalry, and they were expelled without difficulty from their cantonments in Wurtzburg ; the defeat of a few regiments occasioned a general rout, while the scattered remnant fled to seek refuge from the effects of the Swedish valour in the towns beyond the Rhine.

Disgraced, and ridiculed throughout Germany, their leader hurried home by Strasburg, too fortunate in escaping, by a submissive written apology, the indignation of his conqueror, who had first beaten him out of the field, and then called upon him to justify his conduct. A peasant, it is said, in a village on the Rhine, ventured to strike the horse of the Duke as he rode past, exclaiming, "Haste, Sir, you must make more speed in order to escape the great King of Sweden!"

The unfortunate example of his neighbours had inspired the Bishop of Bamberg with more prudent resolutions. To prevent his territories from being plundered he made proposals of peace to the King, though these were intended only to delay his course, till assistance should arrive. Gustavus Adolphus, too honourable himself to suspect artifice in another, readily accepted the Bishop's offer, and named the conditions on which he was willing to save his territories from hostile treatment. He was the more inclined to accede to these proposals, as he had no time to lose in the conquest of Bamberg, and his other plans called him towards the Rhine. The rapidity with which he pursued these plans deprived him of those supplies which, by a longer residence in Franconia, he might easily have extorted from the weak and terrified Bishop: for this artful prelate put an end to the negotiation the instant the storm of war was withdrawn from his own territories. No sooner had Gustavus Adolphus retreated, than he threw himself under the protection of Tilly, and received the troops of the Emperor into the very towns and fortresses which he had previously declared himself ready to open to the Swedes. But this strata-

gem served only to delay for a very short time the ruin of his bishopric. A Swedish general who had been left in Franconia, undertook to chastise the Bishop for this act of perfidy ; and the Ecclesiastical territory, converted into the seat of war, was ravaged alike by friends and enemies.

The flight of the Imperialists, whose formidable presence had hitherto been a check upon the Franconian States, and the humane conduct of the King, emboldened the nobility as well as the inhabitants of this Circle to declare in his favour. Nuremberg solemnly committed itself to his protection ; the Franconian nobles were gained over by flattering proclamations, in which he condescended to apologize for his hostile appearance in their territories. The fertility of Franconia and the conscientious conduct observed by the Swedish soldiers in their dealings with the inhabitants, produced abundance in the camp of the King. The high favour in which Gustavus Adolphus stood with the whole nobility of the Circle, the respect and admiration with which his brilliant exploits were regarded, the rich booty which they promised themselves in the service of so fortunate a monarch, were strongly favourable to him in recruiting his troops ; a step which became necessary in consequence of detaching so many garrisons from the main army. Recruits flocked to his standard from all quarters of Franconia, at the sound of his drums.

The King had scarcely spent more time in obtaining possession of Franconia, than he would have required to cross the country. In order to complete the conquest of the whole Circle, Gustavus Horn, one of his best Generals, was left

behind with a force of 8000 men. He himself hastened with his main army, now reinforced by the recruits of Franconia, towards the Rhine ; to secure this frontier of the empire against the Spaniards ; to disarm the Ecclesiastical princes ; and to obtain from their fertile territories new resources for the continuation of the war. He followed the course of the Maine ; Seligenstadt, Aschaffenburg, Steinheim, the whole territory on both sides of the river was subjected, in the course of his march ; the Imperial garrisons seldom awaiting his arrival, and never attempting resistance. One of his Colonels had, shortly before, the good fortune to wrest from the Imperialists, by surprise, the town and citadel of Hanau, for the preservation of which, Tilly had shewn such anxiety. Eager to be free of the oppressive burden of the Austrian soldiery, the Count of Hanau gladly placed himself under the milder yoke of the King of Sweden.

† Gustavus Adolphus now directed his attention to Francfort ; his constant maxim in Germany being, to secure his rear by the friendship and possession of the more important towns. Francfort was one of the first free cities which, while in Saxony, he had endeavoured to prepare for his reception ; and he now summoned it, by a new embassy from Offenbach, to allow him a free passage, and to admit a Swedish garrison. Willingly would this city have avoided the disagreeable alternative of chusing between the King of Sweden and the Emperor ; for, whatever side they might embrace, the inhabitants had reason to fear for their privileges and their trade. They would incur the heavy weight of the Emperor's

vengeance, by a premature submission to the King of Sweden, if the latter was afterwards unable to protect his adherents in Germany. But far more dangerous was the displeasure of an irresistible conqueror, who was already before their gates with a formidable army, and who might punish their opposition by the ruin of their commerce and prosperity. In vain did their deputies allege the danger which their fairs, their privileges, perhaps their constitution, might sustain, if they were to draw upon them the Emperor's indignation, by espousing the Swedish party. Gustavus Adolphus expressed his astonishment that when the liberties of Germany, and the fate of the Protestant religion were at stake, the citizens of Francfort should talk of their annual fairs, and sacrifice the great cause of their country and their conscience, for these trivial and temporal considerations. He added, in a menacing tone, that, having found the keys of every town and fortress, from the Isle of Rugen to the Maine, he would also know where to find a key to Francfort; that the prosperity of Germany, and the freedom of the Protestant Church, were the sole objects of his invasion; that conscious of the justice of his cause, he was determined that no obstacle should interrupt his progress; and that "he was aware the inhabitants of Francfort wished to stretch out only a finger to him, when he required the whole hand." He closely followed the Deputies, who carried back this answer, at the head of the whole army, and awaited in order of battle, near Saxenhausen, the decision of the Council.

If Francfort hesitated to submit to the Swedes,

that hesitation arose solely from apprehension of the Emperor; their own inclinations would not have allowed them for a moment to hesitate between the oppression of Germany and its Protector. The menacing preparations by which Gustavus Adolphus now compelled them to declare their resolution, would diminish the guilt of their revolt, in the eyes of the Emperor, and justify the step which they willingly took, by an appearance of compulsion. The gates were therefore opened to the King of Sweden, who marched his army through the town in a magnificent procession, and in admirable order. A garrison of 600 men was left in Saxenhausen; the King himself, the same evening, marched with the rest of his army against the town of Höchst in the territory of Mentz, which surrendered to him before night.

While Gustavus was thus extending his conquests along the Maine, the efforts of his generals and allies in the north of Germany were crowned with equal success. Rostock, Weimar, and Doemmetz, the only strong places which the Imperialists still possessed in the Dutchy of Mecklenburgh, were recovered by their legitimate Sovereign, the Duke John Albert, assisted by the Swedish general Achatius Tott. In vain did the Imperial general, Wolf Count Mansfeld, endeavour to recover from the Swedes the territories of Halberstadt, of which they had taken immediate possession after the battle of Leipzig; he was soon after compelled to leave Magdeburg itself in their hands. A Swedish general, Banner, who had been left with 8000 men upon the Elbe, held that city closely blockaded, and had defeated several Imperial regiments which had been sent to its

relief. Count Mansfeld defended it in person with great resolution ; but his garrison being too weak to oppose for any length of time the numerous force of the besiegers, he had already begun to think of surrendering on conditions, when Pappenheim, advancing to his assistance, gave employment to the Swedish arms in another quarter. Magdeburg, however, or rather the wretched huts that were scattered here and there among the ruins of that important town, was afterwards voluntarily abandoned by the Imperialists, and immediately taken possession of by the Swedes.

Even the Lower Saxon states, emboldened by the successful progress of the King, ventured to raise their heads from the blow they had received from Wallenstein and Tilly in the unfortunate Danish war. They held a congress at Hamburg, at which it was determined to raise three regiments, with the assistance of which they hoped to free themselves from the oppressive presence of the Imperial garrisons. The Bishop of Bremen, a relation of Gustavus Adolphus, was not content even with this ; he assembled troops in person, and terrified the unfortunate monks and priests of the neighbourhood, but was soon compelled to lay down his arms by the Imperial general, Count Gronsfeld. Even George Duke of Lunenburg, formerly a colonel in the Imperial service, now embraced the party of Gustavus, and raised several regiments for that monarch, which, by occupying the attention of the Imperialists in Lower Saxony, were of material advantage to him.

But services far more important were rendered to the King by the Landgrave William of Hesse Cassel, whose victorious arms struck terror into

ing him as a crowned head, and endeavoured, by a respectful sympathy, to soften his sense of his misfortunes. But great as the advantages were which Frederick promised himself from the power and good fortune of his protector ; and strongly as he depended on his justice and magnanimity, the hope of this unfortunate prince's restoration to his dominions seemed as distant as ever. The inactivity and contradictory politics of the English court had abated the zeal of Gustavus Adolphus, and a feeling of irritation which he could not entirely suppress, made him on this occasion forget the glorious duty of protecting the oppressed, the character in which he had so loudly proclaimed himself on his invasion of Germany.

The terror of the King's irresistible strength, and the prospect of his vengeance, had also compelled George Landgrave of Hesse D'Armstadt to a speedy submission. His connexion with the Emperor, and his indifference to the Protestant cause, were no secret to the King, but he was satisfied with laughing at the efforts of so impotent an enemy. As the Landgrave was so imperfectly acquainted with his own strength, and the political situation of Germany, as to obtrude himself as mediator between the rival parties, Gustavus used jestingly to call him the peacemaker. He was frequently heard to say, when gaining money from the Landgrave at play, " That the money afforded him double satisfaction, as it was Imperial coin." The Landgrave was indebted to his relationship with the Elector of Saxony, whom it was the interest of Gustavus to treat with forbearance, for the favourable terms he now received from the King, who contented himself with the surrender of

his fortress of Russelheim, and his promise of observing a strict neutrality during the war. The Counts of Westerwald and Wetteran also visited the King in Frankfort, to conclude an alliance, and to offer him their assistance against the Spaniards, which was afterwards very favourable to his cause. The town of Frankfort itself had reason to rejoice at the presence of this monarch, who by his royal authority protected their trade, and by the most effectual measures, re-established the fairs, which had suffered greatly by the war.

The Swedish army was now reinforced by ten thousand Hessians, under William Landgrave of Cassel. Gustavus Adolphus had already invested Konigstein ; Kostheim and Fliershain surrendered after a short siege ; he was in possession of the whole course of the Maine ; and boats were prepared with all possible speed at Höchst to carry his troops across the Rhine. These preparations filled the Elector of Mentz, Anselm Casimir, with consternation ; and he doubted not for a moment that he was likely to be the first against whom the storm of war would be directed. As an adherent of the Emperor, and one of the most active members of the League, he had no better treatment to expect than his confederates, the Bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, had already received. The situation of his territories upon the Rhine rendered it necessary for the enemy to secure them, while their fertility afforded an irresistible temptation to the necessities of their army. But miscalculating his own strength, or that of his adversaries, the Elector flattered himself that he should be able to repel force by force, and weary out the valour of the Swedes by the strength of

his fortifications. He repaired with all possible expedition the fortifications of his capital, provided it with every thing necessary for maintaining a long defence, and received into the town a Spanish garrison of 2000 Spaniards, under Don Philip de Sylva. To prevent the approach of the Swedish transports, he endeavoured to close up the mouth of the Maine by driving piles, and sinking large heaps of stones and vessels across the river. He himself, accompanied by the Bishop of Worms, took refuge with his most precious effects in Cologne, abandoning his capital and his territories to the rapacity of a tyrannical garrison. All these preparations, however, which were indicative of a weak and overweening confidence, rather than of true courage, did not prevent the Swedes from marching against Mentz, and preparing for a serious attack upon that city. While one part of their forces poured into the Rheingau, routing the Spaniards who remained in that quarter, and imposing contributions on the inhabitants, another laid the Catholic towns in Westerwald and Wetterau under similar contributions. The main army had encamped at Cassel, opposite Mentz; and Bernhard, Duke of Weimar, made himself master of the Mouse Tower and the Castle of Ehrenfels, on the other side of the Rhine. Gustavus now made active preparations to cross the Rhine, and to attack the town on the land side, when the progress of Count Tilly in Franconia suddenly called him from the siege, and obtained for the Elector a short repose.

The danger of Nuremberg, which Tilly, during the absence of Gustavus Adolphus on the Rhine,

two of which he despatched Count Brahe across the river with 300 Swedes. Scarcely had he time to entrench himself on the opposite bank, when he was attacked by 14 companies of Spanish dragoons and cuirassiers. Notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy, however, Count Brahe defended himself bravely with his small force; and gained time for the King to advance to his support with fresh troops. The Spaniards took to flight with the loss of 600 men; some taking refuge in Oppenheim, and others in Mentz. A lion of marble on a high pillar, holding a naked sword in his paw, and a helmet, on his head, showed the traveller, seventy years afterwards, the spot where the Immortal Monarch crossed the great river of Germany.

Immediately after this fortunate action, Gustavus Adolphus transported his artillery and the greater part of his troops across the river, and laid siege to Oppenheim, which, after a desperate defence, was carried by storm on the 8th December 1631. 500 Spaniards, who had so courageously defended the place, fell victims to the fury of the Swedes. The news of Gustavus having crossed the Rhine, struck terror into the Spaniards and the troops of Lorraine, who had thought themselves secure on the other side of the river from the vengeance of the Swedes. A rapid flight was now their only resource; every place not capable of maintaining an effectual defence was at once abandoned by them. After a long series of outrages committed on the defenceless citizens, the troops of Lorraine evacuated Worms, which they treated with wanton cruelty before their departure. The Spaniards hastened to secure themselves on

Frankenthal, in which they hoped to bid defiance to the victorious arms of Gustavus Adolphus.

The King on the other hand lost no time in pursuing his plans against Mentz, into which the flower of the Spanish troops had thrown themselves. While he advanced against the town, upon the left bank of the Rhine, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel had approached it on the other, reducing several strong places on his march. The besieged Spaniards, though attacked on both sides, showed at first great courage and determination, and a shower of bombs fell for several days into the Swedish Camp, which cost the King the lives of many of his bravest soldiers. But notwithstanding this brave resistance, the Swedes continued to gain ground, and had at last advanced so close to the ditch, that they began to make serious preparations for an assault. The courage of the besieged then gave way. They trembled, and not without reason, at the furious impetuosity of the Swedish soldiers, of which the fate of Marienberg had afforded so fearful an example. A fate not less dreadful awaited Mentz, if that town was taken by storm; and the enemy might even be easily tempted to revenge on this rich and magnificent Catholic city the carnage of Magdeburg. More on account of the town than of their own lives, the Spanish garrison capitulated on the 4th day, and obtained from the magnanimity of the victor a safe conduct to Luxembourg; but the greater part of them, following the example of their predecessors, enlisted in the service of Sweden.

On the 13th December 1631, the King made his entry into the conquered town, and took up

his residence in the palace of the Elector. Eighty cannon fell into his hands, and the citizens were obliged to purchase an exemption from plunder, by a payment of 80,000 florins. From this indulgence the Jews and the clergy were excluded, they being obliged to redeem their property by large and separate contributions. The library of the Elector the King committed to his chancellor Oxenstiern, with the view of having it transported to the Academy of Westerrah, but the ship in which it was to be conveyed to Sweden foundered at sea, and this valuable treasure was buried beneath the waves of the Baltic.

The misfortunes of the Spaniards in the territories of the Rhine, did not terminate with the loss of Mentz. Shortly before the taking of that city, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel had taken Falkenstein and Reifenberg : The fortress of Koningstein now surrendered to the Hessians. The Rhinegrave Otto Louis, one of the King's generals, had the good fortune to defeat nine Spanish squadrons who were on their march for Frankenthal, and to make himself master of the most important towns upon the Rhine, from Boppard to Bacharach. After the capture of the fortress of Braunsfels, which was effected by the Count of Wetterau, with the assistance of the Swedes, the Spaniards had lost every place in Wetterau, while in the Palatinate they could scarcely save any except Frankenthal. Landau and Kronweisenberg openly declared for the Swedes : Spires offered to raise troops for the King. Mannheim was gained to the Swedes through the prudent measures of the Duke Bernard of Weimar, and the negligence of

the governor, who, for this misconduct, was tried before the council of war at Heidelberg, and beheaded.

The King had protracted the campaign into the depth of winter, and the severity of the season was perhaps one cause of the superiority of his soldiers over those of the enemy. But the exhausted troops now stood in need of the repose of winter quarters, which Gustavus, soon after the taking of Mentz, granted them in the neighbouring territories. He himself employed the interval of repose, which the season of the year rendered necessary, in arranging the affairs of his Cabinet with his Chancellor, in treating for a neutrality with some of his enemies, and adjusting some political disputes with an allied neighbour, which his past conduct had occasioned. He chose the city of Mentz as his winter quarters, and the centre of management for his state affairs; and showed a greater partiality for this town, than seemed consistent with the interests of the German princes, or the shortness of his visit to the empire. Not contented with fortifying the town in the strongest manner, he erected a new citadel at the angle formed by the junction of the Maine with the Rhine; which was named Gustavusburg from its founder, but which is better known under the title of Pfaffenraub or Pfaffenzwaug.*

While Gustavus Adolphus made himself master of the Rhine, and the three neighbouring electorates, by his victorious arms, every artifice was resorted to by his watchful enemies in Paris, and St Germain's, to deprive him of the support of France, and, if possible, to involve him in a war

* Priests' plunder; alluding to the means by which the expense of its erection had been defrayed.

with that kingdom. By his sudden and unexpected march to the Rhine, he had surprised his friends, and furnished his enemies with a pretext for distrusting his intentions. After the conquest of Wurtzburg, and the greater part of Franconia, it was in his power to press forward into Bavaria and Austria, throughout the bishopric of Bamberg and the Upper Palatinate; and it was generally and naturally believed that he would lose no time in attacking the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, in the very centre of their power, and putting an immediate period to the war, by the subjection of these his principal enemies. But to the astonishment of both parties, Gustavus relinquished the path which had thus been traced for him, and, instead of directing his course to the right, turned to the left, to vent his indignation on the less important and more innocent princes of the Rhine, while he gave time to his more formidable opponents to recruit their strength. Nothing but the intention of reinstating the unfortunate Palatine Frederick V. in the possession of his territories, by the immediate expulsion of the Spaniards, could render this strange step intelligible; and the belief that that restoration was immediately to take place, at first silenced the suspicions of his friends, and the calumnies of his enemies. But the Lower Palatinate was now almost entirely cleared of the enemy, and yet Gustavus continued to form new schemes of conquest on the Rhine, and to withhold the reconquered country from its legitimate possessor. It was in vain that the English ambassador reminded him of the duty he owed to Justice, and the solemn engagement he had himself entered into; Gustavus

replied to these demands with bitter complaints against the inactivity of the English Court, and prepared to extend his victorious arms into Alsace, and even into Lorraine.

The distrust excited by the conduct of the Swedish monarch was now openly expressed, while the malice of his enemies was busied in circulating the most injurious reports as to his intentions. Richelieu, the Minister of Louis XIII., had already witnessed with anxiety the progress of the King towards the French frontier, and the suspicious temper of his master rendered him but too accessible to the reports which were circulated with regard to his views. France was at this moment involved in a civil war with its Protestant subjects, and there was reason to fear that the approach of a victorious monarch, of their own party, might inspire them with new courage, and animate them to a more violent resistance. This might be the case, even if Gustavus Adolphus was ever so little inclined to afford them encouragement, or to act unfaithfully towards his ally, the King of France. But the revengeful disposition of the Bishop of Wurtzburg, who was anxious to console himself for the loss of his dominions, by his intrigues in the French Court, the envenomed rhetoric of the Jesuits, and the active zeal of the Bavarian minister, represented this dangerous alliance between the Hugonots and the Swedes as a matter perfectly settled, and continued to fill the mind of the timid Louis with the most fearful apprehensions. Not merely chimerical politicians, but many of the best informed Catholics, fully believed that the King would immediately press forward into the heart of France, make

common cause with the Hugonots, and overturn the Catholic religion within the kingdom. Fanatical zealots even saw him ready to cross the Alps with an army, and dethrone the Vicegerent of Christ in Italy. These reports, it is true, soon died away of themselves ; yet it is impossible to deny that Gustavus, by his military operations on the Rhine, gave a dangerous handle to his enemies, and in some measure justified the suspicion that his arms were directed, not so much against the Emperor and the Duke of Bavaria, as against the Catholic religion itself.

The general clamour raised by the Catholic Courts, at the instigation of the Jesuits, against the alliance between France and the enemy of their church, at last compelled Cardinal Richelieu to take a decisive step for the security of his religion, and at once to convince the Catholic world of the religious zeal of France, and the selfish policy of the Ecclesiastical States of Germany. Convinced that the views of the King of Sweden, like his own, were directed merely to the humiliation of the power of Austria, he hesitated not to promise to the Princes of the League, the observance of a complete neutrality on the part of Sweden, on condition of their abandoning their alliance with the Emperor, and withdrawing their troops. Whatever might be the resolution adopted by the princes, Richelieu equally attained his object. By their separation from the Austrian interest, Ferdinand would be at once exposed to the united attack of France and Sweden ; and Gustavus Adolphus, freed from his other enemies in Germany, would be enabled to direct his undivided strength against the hereditary dominions of

Austria. The fall of Austria was, in that event, inevitable, and the great object of Richelieu's policy would be attained without injury to the church. If again the princes of the League persisted in their opposition, and adhered to the Austrian alliance, France would at least be justified in the eyes of Europe, by the proposal she had made, and would have sufficiently proved the sincerity of her attachment to the Catholic cause, and performed her duty as a member of the Roman church. The princes of the League would then appear the sole authors of those evils which the Catholics of Germany were unavoidably exposed to, from the continuance of the war; they alone, by their wilful and obstinate adherence to the Emperor, would frustrate the measures employed for their protection, expose the church to danger, and themselves to destruction.

Richelieu pursued this plan with the greater zeal, the more he was pressed by the repeated applications of the Elector of Bavaria, for assistance from France. It will be recollected that this prince, from the moment he had begun to entertain suspicions of the Emperor, had entered into a secret alliance with France, by which he hoped to secure himself in the possession of the Palatinate, in the event of any future change in the Emperor's sentiments. But though the origin of the treaty itself showed clearly against what enemy it was directed, Maximilian now thought proper to make use of it against the King of Sweden, and did not hesitate to demand from France that assistance against Gustavus Adolphus her ally, which she had promised against Austria. Richelieu, embarrassed by this contradictory alliance, with two

powers opposed to each other, had no other resource left but to endeavour to put a speedy termination to their hostilities : And, unwilling to sacrifice Bavaria, while he was unable to protect it through his connexion with Sweden, he turned his efforts entirely to the effecting a neutrality, as the only means of fulfilling his obligations to both. The Marquis of Breze was for this purpose sent as his plenipotentiary to the King of Sweden in Mentz, to ascertain his sentiments on this point, and to procure from him favourable conditions for the allied princes. But if Louis XIII. had powerful reasons for wishing to see this alliance effected, Gustavus Adolphus had as important grounds to desire the contrary. Convinced by numerous proofs that the aversion of the Princes of the League to the Protestant religion was unconquerable, their hatred against the foreign power of the Swedes implacable, and their attachment to the House of Austria inseparable, he apprehended less danger from their open hostility, than from a neutrality so much opposed to their inclinations ; and, constrained as he was to carry on the war in Germany at the expense of the enemy, he sustained a manifest loss, if without increasing the number of his friends, he diminished that of his open enemies. It was therefore not surprising that Gustavus Adolphus showed little inclination to purchase the neutrality of the Catholic princes, by which he was likely to gain so little, by the loss of those advantages he had already obtained.

The conditions, accordingly, upon which he offered to accede to the proposal of neutrality on the part of Bavaria were severe, and suited to the views he entertained. He required of the Catho-

lic League a total neutrality ; the recal of their troops from the Imperial army, from the conquered towns, and from all the Protestant countries ; a considerable diminution of their military force ; the exclusion of the imperial armies from their territories, and an obligation that they should neither be assisted with men, provisions, nor ammunition. Harsh as the conditions were which the victor thus imposed upon the vanquished, the French mediator flattered himself he should be able to prevail on the Elector of Bavaria to accept them. In order to accommodate the matter, Gustavus had agreed to grant to the latter a cessation of hostilities for a fortnight. But at the very moment when this monarch was receiving from the French agents repeated assurances of the favourable progress of the negotiation, an intercepted letter of the Elector to the Imperial General Pappenheim in Westphalia, discovered to him the perfidy of that prince, who, in the whole negotiation, had no other object in view but to gain time for resistance. Far from contemplating the idea of fettering himself in his military operations by any truce with Sweden, the artful prince was accelerating his preparations, and employing the leisure which his enemy afforded him, in the most active provisions for his defence. The whole negotiation accordingly proved fruitless, and served only to renew, with more virulence than ever, the hostilities of the Bavarians and the Swedes.

Tilly's augmented force, with which this general threatened to overrun Franconia, urgently required the King's presence in that Circle ; but it was necessary, in the first place, to drive the Spaniards from the Rhine, and to cut off their means

of invading Germany from the Netherlands. With this view, Gustavus Adolphus had made an offer of neutrality to the Elector of Treves, Philip von Zeltern, on condition that the fortress of Hermanstein should be ceded to him, and a free passage granted to his troops through the town of Coblentz. But unwillingly as the Elector witnessed the presence of the Spaniards within his territories, he was still less disposed to commit himself to the suspicious protection of a heretic, and to place his fate in the hands of the Swedish conqueror. Unable by his own strength to maintain his independence against two such powerful rivals, he took refuge under the protection of France. Richelieu, with his usual prudent policy, availed himself of his embarrassments to increase the power of France, and to gain for her an important ally on the German frontier. A numerous French army was despatched to cover the territory of Treves, and the fortress of Ehrenbreitstein received a French garrison. But the object of the Elector, in this bold step, was not completely gained: for the offended pride of Gustavus Adolphus was not appeased till a free passage was granted to the Swedish troops through the territories of Treves.

While these negotiations were carried on with Treves and France, the King's generals had cleared the remainder of the territory of Mentz of the Spanish garrisons, and Gustavus himself completed the conquest of this district by the capture of Kreutznach. To guard these conquests, the chancellor Oxenstiern was left with part of the troops upon the Middle Rhine, while the main army, un-

der the King himself, began its march against the enemy in Franconia.

The possession of this Circle had, in the meantime, been disputed with variable success, between Count Tilly and the Swedish General Horn, whom Gustavus had left there with 8000 men ; and the Bishopric of Bamberg, in particular, was at once the object of their struggle, and the scene of their ravages. The King, called off to the Rhine by his other projects, had left to his General the chastisement of the Bishop, whose perfidy had excited his indignation, and the activity of Horn justified the choice. In a short time, he subjected great part of the Bishopric to the Swedish arms ; and the capital itself, abandoned by its Imperial garrison, was carried by storm. The banished Bishop now pressed the Elector of Bavaria most urgently for assistance ; and that Prince was at length persuaded to put an end to Tilly's inactivity. Having received from his Master full powers to reinstate the Bishop in his territories, this General collected his troops, who were scattered over the Upper Palatinate, and advanced upon Bamberg with an army of 20,000 men. Gustavus Horn, firmly determined to maintain his conquest even against this overwhelming force, awaited the enemy within the walls of Bamberg ; but found himself obliged to yield to the vanguard of Tilly, what he had hoped to hold out against his whole army. A confusion which arose among his troops, and which no presence of mind on the part of their General could remedy, opened the gates to the enemy, and it was with difficulty that the troops, baggage and artillery, were saved. The reconquest of Bamberg was the fruit of this victory ;

but Tilly, with every effort, was unable to overtake the Swedish General, who retired in good order across the Rhine. The King's appearance in Franconia, and his junction with Gustavus Horn at Kitzingen, put a stop to Tilly's conquests, and compelled him to look to his own safety by a timely retreat.

The King made a general review of his troops at Aschaffenburg; the number of which, after his junction with Gustavus Horn, Banner, and Duke William of Weimar, amounted to nearly 40,000 men. Nothing interrupted his progress through Franconia; for Count Tilly, far too weak to encounter an enemy so superior in numbers, had retreated, by rapid marches, towards the Danube. Bohemia and Bavaria were now equally near to the King, and, uncertain whither his victorious course might be directed, Maximilian could form no immediate resolution. The choice of the King, and the fate of both provinces, now depended on the course left open to Count Tilly. It was dangerous while so formidable an enemy was approaching to leave Bavaria undefended, in order to protect Austria; still more dangerous by receiving Tilly into Bavaria, to draw the enemy also into this quarter, and render it the seat of a destructive war. The cares of the Sovereign and the Patriot prevailed at last over the scruples of the Statesman, and Tilly received orders, at all hazards, to cover the frontiers of Bavaria with his army.

Nuremberg received with triumphant joy the Protector of the Protestant religion and of the German liberties, and the enthusiasm of the citizens expressed itself on his arrival in the most touching demonstrations of admiration and joy. Gustavus

himself could not suppress his astonishment, at seeing himself in this city, in the very centre of Germany, where he had never expected to be able to penetrate. The noble appearance of his person completed the impression produced by his glorious actions, and the condescension with which he repaid the congratulations of the citizens, gained him in an instant the affections of all. He personally confirmed the alliance he had entered into with them on the shores of the Baltic, and excited the citizens to an active zeal and fraternal unity against the common enemy. After a short residence in Nuremberg he followed his army to the Danube, and unexpectedly appeared before the frontier town of Donauwerth. The place was defended by a numerous Bavarian garrison; and their commander Rodolph Maximilian, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, showed at first the firmest resolution to hold out till the arrival of Tilly. But the vigour with which Gustavus Adolphus commenced the siege, soon constrained him to take measures for a speedy and secure retreat, which he successfully executed amidst a tremendous fire from the Swedish artillery.

The capture of Donauwerth opened to the King the possession of the other side of the Danube, and now only the small river Lech separated him from Bavaria. The immediate danger to which his dominions were exposed, excited the utmost activity of Maximilian; and, however little he had hitherto done to interrupt the progress of the enemy towards his frontier, he was now determined to dispute with them as resolutely as possible the remainder of their course. On the opposite side of the Lech, near the small town of Rain, Tilly occupied a fortified camp, which, surround-

ed by three rivers, bade defiance to every attack. All the bridges over the river were destroyed; the whole course of the stream as far as Augsburg strongly garrisoned; and that town itself, which had shown strong symptoms of its inclination to imitate the example of Nuremberg and Francfort, secured by the introduction of a Bavarian garrison, and by disarming the inhabitants. The Elector himself, with all the troops he could collect, threw himself into Tilly's camp as if all his hopes were concentrated in this single point, and the good fortune of the Swedes was to suffer shipwreck before its lines.

Gustavus Adolphus soon appeared on the bank opposite the Bavarian entrenchments, after subjecting to his arms the whole territory of Augsburg, on his own side of the river, and opening to his troops a rich supply of necessaries from that quarter. It was now the month of March, when the river, swelled to an uncommon height, by frequent rains, and the melting of the snow from the mountains of the Tyrol, flowed with great rapidity between its steep banks. Its waves threatened the rash assailants with certain destruction, while the enemy's cannon opened their murderous discharge upon them from the opposite side. If they escaped the fury of the fire and water, a new and vigorous enemy awaited them, in an impregnable camp; and a battle must be begun, where they needed repose and refreshment. Exhausted as they were, they hastened to attack the hostile entrenchments, the strength of which seemed to bid defiance to every assault. A defeat sustained upon this river would be attended with inevitable ruin, since the same stream which impeded their

victorious advance, would also cut off their retreat, if fortune should abandon them.

The Swedish Council of War, which the King now assembled, strongly represented to him the importance of these considerations, in order to deter him from this dangerous undertaking. Even the most intrepid were appalled, and a troop of honourable warriors, who had grown gray in the field, did not hesitate to express their doubts. But the King's resolution was fixed. "What!" said he to Gustavus Horn, who spoke for the rest, "have we crossed the Baltic, and so many of the great rivers of Germany, to have our progress interrupted by a brook like the Lech?" He had already, with great personal danger, reconnoitred the position, and discovered that his own side of the river was considerably more elevated than the other, by which the fire of the Swedish artillery must have a considerable advantage over that of the enemy. He availed himself, with rapid presence of mind, of this circumstance. At the place where the left bank of the Lech forms an angle towards the right, he immediately caused three batteries to be erected, from which 72 field-pieces opened a flanking fire upon the enemy. While this destructive fire drove the Bavarians from the opposite bank, he erected, with all possible rapidity, a bridge over the river. A thick smoke, kept up by burning wood and wet straw, concealed the progress of the erection for some time from the enemy, while the continued thunder of the cannon overpowered the noise of the axes of the workmen. He himself animated by his example the courage of his troops, and discharged more than 60 cannon with his own hand. The

cannonade was returned by the Bavarians for two hours, with equal vivacity, though with less effect, as the Swedish batteries, placed on higher ground, swept the lower bank, while their height served as a breast-work to the troops behind. In vain, therefore, did the Bavarians attempt to destroy these works; the superior force of the enemy threw them into disorder, and they were compelled to be spectators of the finishing of the bridge. Tilly, on this dreadful day, did every thing in his power to raise the courage of his troops; and no danger could drive him from the banks of the river. He found at length the death which he sought; a cannon ball shattered his leg; and his brave associate Altringer was, soon after, dangerously wounded in the head. Deprived of the animating presence of their generals, the Bavarians at last gave way, and Maximilian, in spite of his wishes, was driven to adopt a pusillanimous resolution. Overcome by the persuasions of the dying Tilly, whose wonted firmness was now overpowered by the near approach of death, he gave up his impregnable position for lost; and a ford, discovered by the Swedes, by which the cavalry were on the point of passing, accelerated his inglorious retreat. The same night, before a single hostile soldier had crossed the Lech, he broke up his camp, and, without giving time for the King to harass him in his march, retreated in good order to Neuburg and Ingolstadt. Gustavus Adolphus, who next day completed the passage of his army, beheld with astonishment the hostile camp abandoned: and the Elector's flight surprised him still more, when he saw the strength of the position he had quitted. "Had I been the Bavarian," said

he, " though a cannon ball had carried away my beard and chin, never would I have abandoned a position like this, and opened to my enemies a passage into my territory."

Bavaria now lay open to the conqueror; and the tide of war, which had hitherto only beat against its frontier, now streamed for the first time over these fields, which had so long escaped its ravages. But before proceeding to the conquest of these provinces, the King rescued the town of Augsburg from the yoke of Bavaria; exacted an oath of allegiance from the citizens; and secured its fulfilment by leaving a garrison in the town. He then advanced, by rapid marches, against Ingolstadt, to secure his conquests in Bavaria, and obtain a firm footing on the Danube, by the possession of this important fortress, which the Elector was attempting to cover with the greater part of his army.

Shortly after his appearance before Ingolstadt, the wounded Tilly terminated his career within the walls of that town, after experiencing all the caprices of unstable fortune. Crushed by the superior generalship of Gustavus Adolphus, he lost, at the close of his days, all the laurels of his earlier victories, and appeased, by a series of misfortunes, the justice of Providence, and the offended manes of Magdeburg. In him the Imperial army and that of the League, sustained an irreparable loss; the Catholic religion was deprived of its most zealous defender, and Maximilian of Bavaria, of the most faithful of his servants, who sealed his fidelity by his death, and even in his dying moments fulfilled the duties of a General. His last message to the Elector was an urgent advice to

take possession of Ratisbon, and thus to maintain the command of the Danube, and the communication with Bohemia.

With the confidence which seemed to be the natural result of so many victories, Gustavus Adolphus now undertook the siege of Ingolstadt, hoping to master the town by the impetuosity of his first assault. But the strength of the fortifications, and the bravery of the garrison, opposed obstacles to his attempt more formidable than any he had encountered since the battle of Breitenfeld ; and a period was nearly put to his career before the walls of this town. While reconnoitering the works, a 24 pounder killed his horse beneath him, while another ball, almost immediately afterwards, struck his favourite, the young Margrave of Baden, by his side. The King, with rapid presence of mind, rose, and quieted the fears of his troops by immediately mounting another.

The occupation of Ratisbon by the Bavarians, who, according to the advice of Tilly, had surprised this town by stratagem, and placed in it a strong garrison, quickly changed the King's plan of operations. He had flattered himself with the hope of gaining this town, which was inclined to the Protestant interests, and to find in it an ally as devoted to him as Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Frankfort. The subjection of the town by the Bavarians, seemed to postpone for a long time the fulfilment of his favourite project of rendering himself master of the Danube, and depriving his adversaries of all assistance from Bohemia. He soon left Ingolstadt, against which he was wasting his time and his troops, and penetrated into the interior of Bavaria, in order to draw the Elector in-

to that quarter for the defence of his territories and thus to strip the Danube of its defenders.

The country, as far as Munich, now lay open to the conqueror. Mosburg, Landshut, and the whole territory of Freylingen, submitted to him; nothing could resist his arms. But if he met with no regular opposition in his progress, he had to contend against an implacable enemy in the heart of every Bavarian—the virulence of religious fanaticism. Troops who did not acknowledge the supremacy of the people were a new and unheard of spectacle in this country; the blind zeal of the priests represented them to the peasantry as monsters, the children of hell,¹ and their leader as Antichrist. No wonder, then, that they should think themselves released from all the ties of nature and humanity in regard to this brood of Satan, or think themselves justified in committing the most savage atrocities upon them. Woe to the Swedish soldier who had the misfortune to fall into their hands! All the torments which inventive malice could devise were exercised upon these unhappy victims; and the sight of their mangled bodies exasperated the army to a fearful retaliation. Gustavus Adolphus, alone, sullied the lustre of his heroic character by no act of revenge; and the aversion which the Bavarians felt towards his religion, far from releasing him from the obligations of humanity towards that unfortunate people, seemed to render him only more anxious to vindicate the character of his religion, by a more conspicuous display of clemency.

The approach of the King spread terror and consternation in the capital, which, stripped of its defenders, and abandoned by its principal inhabit-

ants, had nothing to trust to but the magnanimity of the conqueror. By an unconditional and voluntary surrender, it hoped to disarm his indignation ; and accordingly, deputies were sent to Francfort to lay at his feet the keys of the city. Strongly as the King might have been tempted by the inhuman conduct of the Bavarians, and the hostile intentions of their sovereign, to make a dreadful use of his victory ; pressed as he was even by the Germans to avenge the fate of Magdeburg on the capital of its destroyer, this great prince scorned this mean revenge ; and the very helplessness of his enemies disarmed his indignation. Contented with the noble triumph of conducting the Palatine Frederick with the pomp of a victor into the very palace of the prince who had been the chief instrument of his fall, and the usurper of his territories, he heightened the brilliancy of his triumphal entry by the superior splendour of his moderation and mildness.

— The King found in Munich only a forsaken palace, for the treasures of the Elector had been transported to Werfen. The magnificence of the Electoral palace astonished him ; and he asked the guide who showed the apartments who was the architect. “ No other,” replied he, “ than the Elector himself.” — “ I wish,” said the King, “ that I had this architect to send to Stockholm.” “ That,” replied the other, “ the architect will take care to prevent.” When the arsenal was examined, they found nothing but carriages which had been stripped of their cannon. The latter had been so artfully concealed under the floor, that no traces of them were to be found ; and but for the treachery of a workman, the deceit would

not have been detected. " Rise up from the dead," said the King, " and come to light." The floor was pulled up, and 140 pieces of cannon discovered, many of them of extraordinary size, which had been principally taken from the Palatinate and Bohemia. A treasure of 30,000 gold ducats, concealed in one of the largest, completed the pleasure which the King received from this unexpected acquisition.

But a far more welcome spectacle to him would have been the appearance of the Bavarian army itself; for his march into the heart of Bavaria had been undertaken chiefly with the view of luring them from their entrenchments. In this expectation he saw himself disappointed. No enemy appeared; no entreaties, however urgent, on the part of his subjects, could induce the Elector to hazard the remainder of his army by a battle. Shut up in Ratisbon, he awaited the expected reinforcements of the Duke of Friedland from Bohemia; and endeavoured, in the mean time, to stop the activity of the enemy, by reviving the negotiations for a neutrality. But the King's distrust, too often and too justly excited by his previous conduct, frustrated this design; and the intentional delay of Wallenstein abandoned Bavaria to the Swedes.

Thus far had Gustavus advanced from victory to victory, and from one conquest to another, without meeting with an enemy who could pretend to cope with him. A part of Bavaria and Swabia, the Bishopric of Franconia, the Lower Palatinate, and the Archbishopric of Mentz, lay conquered in his rear. An uninterrupted career of victory had conducted him to the borders of Austria; and the most bril-

liant success had fully justified the plan of operations which he had formed after the battle of Breitenfeld. If he had not succeeded to the utmost of his wishes in promoting a confederacy among the Protestant States, he had at least disarmed or weakened the members of the Catholic League, maintained the war chiefly at their expense, diminished the resources of the Emperor, animated the courage of the weaker States, and found a way to the Austrian States through the territories of those allies of the Emperor whom he had laid under contribution. Where arms were unavailing, the friendship of the free cities, which he had attached to him by the united ties of policy and religion, frequently was of the utmost service to him; and, as long as he maintained his superiority in the field, he could depend upon their zealous support. By his conquests on the Rhine, the Spaniards were cut off from the Lower Palatinate, even if the state of the war in the Netherlands left them at liberty to interfere in the affairs of Germany. The Duke of Lorraine himself had acceded to the neutrality after his unfortunate campaign. Even the numerous garrisons he had left behind him in his progress through Germany, had not diminished his army; and, fresh and vigorous as when he began his march, he now stood in the centre of Bavaria, with the power and the determination of carrying the war into the heart of Austria.

While Gustavus Adolphus thus maintained the war with such superiority within the empire, fortune had been no less favourable to his ally, the Elector of Saxony, in another quarter. It will be

recollected, that by the arrangement concerted between these princes at Halle, after the battle of Leipzig, the conquest of Bohemia was intrusted to the Elector of Saxony, while the King chose for himself the attack upon the territories of the League. The first fruits of the battle of Breitenfeld, was the reconquest of Leipzig, which was shortly followed by the expulsion of the Austrian garrisons from the whole Circle. Reinforced by the troops who deserted to him from the hostile garrisons, the Saxon General Arnheim, marched towards Lusatia, which had been overrun by an Imperial General Rudolph von Tiefenbach, in order to chastise the Elector for embracing the cause of the enemy. He had already commenced the usual course of devastation in this weekly defended province, and taken several towns, and terrified Dresden itself by his approach. But his destructive progress was speedily checked by an express mandate from the Emperor to spare the possessions of Saxony.

Ferdinand had too late perceived the errors of that policy, which had led him to drive the Elector of Saxony to extremities, and forcibly to compel this powerful confederate to an alliance with the King of Sweden. He now wished, by all ill-timed moderation, to repair if possible the consequences of his mistimed haughtiness; thus committing a second error while he endeavoured to remedy the first. To deprive his enemy of the assistance of so powerful an ally, he revived, by means of the Spaniards, his negotiations with the Elector; and in order to facilitate an accommodation, Tiefenbach had received orders immediately to evacuate the territories of Saxony. But these

concessions of the Emperor, far from producing the expected effect, only discovered to the Elector the embarrassment of his adversary and his own importance, and encouraged him the more to prosecute the advantages he had already obtained. How, indeed, could he, without the most shameful ingratitude, abandon an ally to whom he had given the most sacred assurances of his fidelity, and to whom he was indebted for the preservation of his dominions, and even of his Electoral dignity?

The Saxon army, now relieved of the expedition into Lusatia, marched towards Bohemia, where a combination of favourable circumstances seemed to assure them of victory. In this kingdom, the first scene of this destructive war, the flames of dissention, still lurked under their ashes, while the continued oppression of tyranny daily augmented the discontent of the inhabitants. Wherever the eye was turned, this unfortunate country showed traces of the most mournful alteration. Whole districts had changed their proprietors, and groaned under the hated yoke of Catholic masters, whom the favour of the Emperor and the Jesuits had enriched with the spoils of the exiled Protestants. Others had availed themselves of the public distress, and purchased, at a low rate, the confiscated estates of the exiles. The blood of the most distinguished champions of liberty, had been shed upon the scaffold; and those who, by a timely flight, escaped that fate, were wandering in misery far from their native land, while their inheritance was squandered by the obsequious slaves of despotism. Still more insupportable than the oppression of these

petty tyrants, was the restraint of conscience which was imposed without distinction on the whole Protestants of that kingdom. No external danger, no opposition on the part of the nation, not even the fearful lessons of past experience, could abate in the Jesuits the rage of proselytism : where fair means were unavailing, military force was employed to bring the wanderers within the pale of the church. The inhabitants of Joachims-thal, on the frontiers between Bohemia and Meissen, were the chief sufferers from this violence. Five Imperial commissaries, accompanied by as many Jesuits, and fifteen musketeers, made their appearance in this peaceful valley to preach the Gospel to the Heretics. Where the rhetoric of the former was ineffectual, they endeavoured to effect their end, by forcibly quartering the latter upon the houses, and by threats of banishment and fines. But on this occasion, the good cause prevailed, and the courageous resistance of this small district, compelled the Emperor disgracefully to recall his mandate of conversion ; the example of the court afforded an example to the Catholics of the empire, and seemed to justify every act of oppression which their insolence tempted them to exercise against the Protestants. It was not surprising, therefore, that this persecuted party was favourable to a revolution, and saw with pleasure the appearance of their deliverers upon their frontiers.

The Saxon army was already on its march towards Prague ; the Imperial garrisons had retired from every place before which they appeared. Schloeckenau, Tetschen, Aussig, Leutmeritz, soon fell into the enemy's hand, and every Ca-

tholic place was abandoned to plunder. Consternation seized all the Papists of the empire; and, conscious of the outrages which they themselves had exercised upon the Protestants, they did not dare to await the arrival of a Protestant army. All the Catholics, who had any thing to lose, fled hastily from the country to the capital, and afterwards abandoned the capital itself with equal rapidity. Prague was prepared for no attack, and too weakly garrisoned to sustain a long siege. The Emperor had too late determined to despatch Field-Marshal Tiefenbach to the defence of this capital. Before the Imperial orders could reach the head-quarters of that General in Silesia, the Saxons were, already, not far from Prague; the Protestant inhabitants of which showed little zeal, while the weakness of the garrison left no room to expect a long resistance. In this fearful state of embarrassment, the Catholic inhabitants looked for their preservation to Wallenstein, who now lived in that city as a private man. But far from employing his military experience, and the weight of his influence for the preservation of the city, he seized the favourable opportunity of gratifying his revenge. If he did not actually invite the Saxons to Prague, his conduct, at least, facilitated its capture. Though unprepared for a long resistance, the town was not without means of defending itself until succour should arrive; and, an Imperial Colonel, Count Maradas, showed serious intentions of undertaking its defence. But without orders, and excited to this enterprise only by his own zeal and courage, he did not dare to venture upon such a step without the approbation

of a superior. He therefore consulted the Duke of Friedland, whose approbation might supply the want of Imperial authority, and to whom the Bohemian Generals were expressly referred by the Court in this extremity. He, however, artfully adhered to his inactivity, and his determination to withdraw himself entirely from political affairs; and weakened the resolutions of the subalterns by the scruples which he himself evinced. To render the consternation general and complete, he finally abandoned the capital with his whole Court, however little he had to apprehend from its capture by the enemy, and the city was lost, because, by his departure, he showed that he despaired of its safety. His example was followed by the whole Catholic nobility, the generals with their troops, the clergy, and all the officers of the crown. All night the people were employed in saving their persons and effects. All the roads to Vienna were crowded with fugitives, who scarcely recovered from their consternation till they reached the capital. Maradas himself, despairing of the safety of Prague, followed the rest, and led his small detachment to Tabor, where he awaited the event.

Profound silence reigned in Prague, when the Saxons next morning appeared before it; no preparations were made for defence; not a single shot from the walls announced the intention of resistance on the part of the inhabitants. A crowd of spectators in the country came flocking round them, allured from the town by curiosity, to behold the foreign army; and the peaceful confidence with which they advanced, resembled a friendly salutation, more than a hostile reception. From the general report of these

people, the Swedes learned that the town had been deserted by the troops ; and that the government was removed to Budweiss. This unexpected and inexplicable surrender, excited Arnheim's distrust the more, as he was perfectly aware of the speedy approach of the Silesian succours ; and knew that the Saxon army was too indifferently provided with materials for undertaking a siege, and by far too weak in numbers to attempt to take the place by storm. Apprehensive of stratagem, he redoubled his vigilance ; and he was still under the influence of this feeling, until the Duke of Friedland's house-steward, whom he discovered among the crowd, confirmed to him this intelligence. " The town is ours without a blow !" exclaimed he, in astonishment, to his officers, and immediately summoned it by a trumpeter.

The citizens of Prague, thus shamefully abandoned by their defenders, had long ago taken their resolution ; and all that now remained was, to secure their properties and liberties by an advantageous capitulation. As soon as the treaty was subscribed by the Saxon general, in name of his master, the gates were opened to him without farther opposition ; and the army made their triumphal entry upon the 11th November 1631. The elector, soon after, followed in person to receive the homage of those whom he had newly taken under his protection ; for it was only in the character of protector that the three towns of Prague had surrendered to him. Their union with the Austrian monarchy, was not to be dissolved by the step they had taken. In proportion as the apprehensions of the Papists, with regard

to the reprisals of the Protestants had been exaggerated, was their surprise at the moderation of the Elector, and the discipline of his troops. Field-Marshal Arnheim, on this occasion, evinced in the plainest manner his regard for Wallenstein. Not contented with sparing his estates, upon his march, he now placed guards within his palace, in Prague, to prevent the plunder of his effects. The Catholics of the town enjoyed the fullest freedom of conscience; and of all the churches they had wrested from the Protestants, four only were now exacted from them. The Jesuits alone, who were generally considered as the authors of all past grievances, were excluded from this indulgence, and banished the kingdom.

John George did not, in his character of victor, abandon the submissive and dependent policy which the terror of the Imperial name inspired; nor did he permit himself, in Prague, to pursue a course of conduct which would assuredly be retaliated upon himself in Dresden, by an Imperial general such as Tilly, or Wallenstein. He was careful to separate the enemy with whom he was at war, from the head of the empire, to whom he owed obedience. He did not venture to touch the property of the latter, while he appropriated without scruple the cannon of the former, and transported them to Dresden. He did not take up his residence in the Imperial palace, but the house of Lichtenstein; too modest to make use of the apartments of one whom he had deprived of a kingdom. Had this trait been related of a great man, and a hero, it would be worthy of admiration; but the character of this prince leaves

us in doubt whether the moderation should be ascribed to a feeling of modesty, or to the pusillanimity of a weak mind, which even good fortune could not embolden, and which, when even restored to liberty, still felt the influence of its wonted fetters.

The capture of Prague, which was soon followed by that of most of the other towns, operated a great and sudden change in the affairs of that kingdom. Many of the Protestant nobility, who had hitherto been wandering about in misery, now returned to their country; and Count Thurn, the well known author of the Bohemian insurrection, returned to enjoy the triumph of re-appearing as a conqueror on the scene of his crime and his condemnation. He now made his triumphal entry on the very bridge where the heads of his adherents, exposed to view, held out to him a fearful prospect of his own fate; and his first care was to remove these ghastly objects of terror. The exiles again took possession of their properties, the present possessors of which had taken to flight, without thinking of recompensing them for the sums they had advanced. Even though they themselves had received the price of their estates, they seized on every thing which had once been their own; and many had reason to rejoice at the economy of the late possessors. The lands and cattle had greatly improved in their hands; the apartments were now decorated with the most costly furniture; the cellars which they had left empty, richly filled; the stables supplied; the magazines stored with provisions. But distrusting the permanence of that good fortune, which they had so unexpectedly met with, they

hastened to get quit of these insecure possessions, and to convert their immoveable into transferable property.

The presence of the Saxons inspired all the Protestants of the kingdom with courage; and, both in the country and the capital, they flocked in crowds to the newly opened Protestant churches. Many, who had adhered to Popery merely through fear, now openly embraced the new doctrine; and many of the late converts to Catholicism gladly renounced this compulsory creed, to follow the earlier conviction of their conscience. All the moderation of the new regency could not repress the manifestation of that just displeasure which this persecuted people felt against the oppressors of their consciences. They made a fearful use of their newly recovered rights; and in many parts of the kingdom, their hatred of the religion which they had been compelled to profess, could be satiated only by the blood of its adherents.

Meantime the reinforcements which the Imperial Generals Goetz and Tiefenbach were conducting from Silesia, had entered Bohemia, where they were joined by some regiments of Count Tilly from the Upper Palatinate. In order to disperse them before they should receive an accession of force, Arnheim marched against them with part of his army from Prague, and made a vigorous attack on their entrenchments near Bamberg on the Elbe. After a severe contest, he succeeded at last, though not without great loss, in driving the enemy from their fortified camp; and compelling them, by the vehemence of his fire, to recross the Elbe, and to destroy the bridge which they had built over that river. But he could not prevent the Imperialists

from obtaining the advantage in several skirmishes, nor the Croats from extending their incursions to the very gates of Prague. Brilliant and promising as the opening of the Bohemian campaign by the Saxons had been, the issue by no means satisfied the expectations of Gustavus Adolphus. Instead of availing themselves with vigour of the advantages they had gained, forcing a passage to the Swedish army through that conquered country, and, in conjunction with it, attacking the Imperial power in its central point, they weakened themselves in a war of skirmishes with the enemy, in which the advantage was not always on their side; while the time which should have been devoted to greater undertakings was lost. But the subsequent conduct of John George betrayed the motives which had prevented him from pushing his advantage over the Emperor, and promoting the plans of the King of Sweden by vigorous measures.

The Emperor had now lost the greater part of Bohemia, and the Saxons were advancing against Austria from this quarter, while the Swedish monarch was making his way towards the Imperial dominions through Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria. A long war had exhausted the strength of the Austrian monarchy, wasted the country, and diminished its armies. The renown of its victories was gone; the confidence inspired by constant success, the obedience and the discipline of the troops, which gave so decided a superiority to the Swedish monarch, was at an end. The confederates of the Emperor were disarmed, or their fidelity shaken, by the danger which threatened themselves. Even Maximilian of Bavaria, the

most powerful support of Austria, seemed disposed to yield to the seductive proposal of a neutrality ; while his suspicious alliance with France had long been a subject of apprehension to the Emperor. The Bishops of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, the Elector of Mentz, and the Duke of Lorraine, were either expelled from their territories, or threatened with immediate attack ; Treves was on the point of placing itself under the protection of France. The bravery of the Hollanders gave full employment to the Spanish arms in the Netherlands ; while Gustavus had driven them from their possessions on the Rhine. Poland was still fettered by the truce which subsisted between that country and Sweden. The Hungarian frontier was threatened by the Transylvanian Prince Ragotsky, a successor of Bethlem Gabor, and inheritor of his restless disposition ; while the Porte was preparing to avail itself of the favourable opportunity which thus presented itself. Most of the Protestant States, emboldened by the success of their protector, openly and actively declared against the Emperor. All the resources which had been obtained by the violent and oppressive extortions of Tilly and Wallenstein in these countries were now exhausted ; all these depots, magazines, and places of refuge, were now lost to the Emperor ; and the war could no longer be maintained, as before, at the expense of others. To complete his distresses, a dangerous insurrection took place in the territory of the Ens, the ill-timed religious zeal of the government having stirred up the Protestant inhabitants to resistance ; and thus the flame of fanaticism was kindled within the empire, while a foreign enemy was already

on its frontier. After such a career of good fortune, such a series of brilliant victories, so extensive conquests, so much blood shed in vain, the Emperor saw himself a second time on the brink of that abyss, on which he had already tottered in the commencement of his reign. If Bavaria should embrace the neutrality; if Saxony should resist the temptations he had held out; and France resolve to attack the Spanish power at the same time in the Netherlands, in Italy, and in Catalonia, the lofty edifice of Austrian greatness would at once be laid in the dust, the Allied Powers would divide its spoils, and the Political System of Germany would undergo a total change.

This chain of disasters had commenced with the battle of Breitenfeld, the unfortunate issue of which plainly announced the approaching decline of the Austrian monarchy, whose weakness had hitherto been concealed under the imposing brilliancy of a great name. The principal cause of the superiority of the Swedes in the field, was evidently to be found in the unlimited power of their leader, who concentrated in himself the whole strength of his party; and, unfettered in his plans by any higher authority, was at liberty to avail himself of every favourable moment, could direct his whole means to the accomplishment of his ends, and was responsible to none but himself for the course he might pursue. But, since Wallenstein's dismissal, and Tilly's defeat, the situation of the Imperial army was directly the reverse. The Generals wanted authority among their troops, and liberty of action; the soldiers were deficient in discipline and obedience; the scattered corps

in unity of operation ; the States in attachment to the cause ; the leaders in harmony among themselves, in promptitude of resolve, and firmness of execution. It was not their actual superiority in strength, but in the manner of using it, that gave so decided an advantage to the enemies of the Emperor. He was not so deficient in means, as in the possession of a mind capable of directing them with energy and effect. Even had Count Tilly still maintained his old renown, the distrust of Bavaria entertained by the Emperor, did not permit him to place the fate of Austria in the hands of one who had never concealed his attachment to the House of Bavaria. The pressing want which Ferdinand felt, was that of a general possessed of sufficient experience to form and to command an army, and who would be willing at the same time to dedicate his services, with blind devotion, to the Austrian monarchy.

It was this choice which now occupied the attention of the Emperor's privy council, and divided the opinions of its members. In order to oppose one monarch to another, and to animate the courage of the troops by the presence of their sovereign, Ferdinand, in the first glow of his zeal, had offered himself as the leader of his army : but it was not difficult to alter a resolution which was the offspring of despair alone, and which gave way at once on calm reflection. But the situation which the Emperor was prevented from accepting by his dignity, and the duties of his administration, might be filled by his son, a youth of capacity and courage, and of whom great hopes were entertained by the subjects of Austria. Called by his birth to the defence of a monarchy, two of

whose crowns he already wore, Ferdinand III. King of Hungary and Bohemia, united, with the natural dignity of heir to the throne, the respect of the army, and the attachment of the people whose support was so necessary to him in the conduct of the war. None but the beloved heir to the crown could venture to impose new burdens on a people already too severely loaded ; his personal presence with the army alone could suppress the pernicious jealousies of the different leaders, and restore the dormant discipline of the troops to its former activity. If so young a leader was deficient in the necessary maturity of judgment, prudence, and military experience, which practice alone could impart, this deficiency might be supplied by a judicious selection of counsellors and assistants, who, under the cover of his name, might be vested with supreme authority.

But plausible as were the grounds on which this plan was supported by part of the ministry, it was opposed by difficulties not less serious, arising from the distrust, perhaps even the jealousy of the Emperor. It was dangerous to intrust the whole fate of the monarchy to a youth, who was himself in need of council and support ; a daring and hazardous measure, to oppose to the greatest general of his age, a young man, whose capacity for that situation had never yet received the test of experience ; whose name, as yet unknown to fame, was too powerless to inspire a dispirited army with the assurance of future victory ! How great too would be the additional burden imposed on the country in maintaining the state required by a royal leader, and which the prejudices of the age considered as inseparable from his presence with the army !

How serious a consideration for the prince himself, to commence his political career, with an office which must render him the scourge of his people and the oppressor of these territories of which he was to be the future sovereign !

But the task was not completed when a general was found for the army ; an army must also be found for the general. Since the compulsory removal of Wallenstein, the Emperor had defended himself more by the assistance of Bavaria and the League, than by his own armies ; and it was this dependence on the assistance of equivocal allies which he was endeavouring to escape, by the nomination of a general of his own. But what possibility was there, without the omnipotent assistance of gold, and the animating influence of a victorious commander, of raising an army out of nothing ; above all, an army which, by its discipline, warlike spirit, and activity, was fitted to cope with the experienced troops of the Northern Conqueror ? In all Europe, there was but one man capable of effecting this, and this man the Emperor had mortally affronted.

The moment had at last arrived, when the offended pride of the Duke of Friedland was to receive an unprecedented atonement. Fate itself had been his avenger, and an unbroken chain of disasters by which Austria had been visited since his dismissal, had extorted from the Emperor himself the confession, that with this general the right arm of his power was cut off. Every defeat of his troops renewed these wounds, every town which he lost revived in the mind of the deceived monarch, the memory of his own weakness and ingratitude. It would have been well for him,

if, in the offended general, he had only lost a leader of his troops, and a defender of his dominions; but he was destined to find in him an enemy, and the most dangerous of all, since he was least prepared against treason from such a quarter.

Removed from the theatre of war, and condemned to an irksome inactivity, while his rivals were gathering laurels on the field of fame, the haughty Duke had beheld with affected composure these changes of fortune, and concealed, under a studied and theatrical pomp, the dark designs of his restless genius. Actuated by the most vehement passions within, while all without was apparently calm and cheerful, he brooded over his projects of ambition and revenge, and slowly, but surely, advanced towards his end. All that he owed to the Emperor was now effaced from his mind; what he himself had done for the Emperor, was indelibly imprinted on his memory. His insatiable thirst for power now led him to rejoice at the Emperor's ingratitude, which seemed to absolve him from every obligation towards his former benefactor. The projects dictated by his ambition, now appeared to him only a just and excusable retaliation. In proportion as the external circle of his operations was narrowed, the world of hope expanded before him, and his enthusiastic imagination revelled in the conception of boundless projects, which, in any mind but such as his, would have appeared the offspring of madness. His own services had raised him to the proudest height which it was possible for a man, by his own efforts, to attain. Fortune had denied him no-

thing which the subject and the citizen could enjoy. Till the moment of his dismissal, his pretensions had met with no opposition ; his ambition had been restrained by no bounds ; but the blow which, at the diet of Ratisbon, levelled his hopes, showed him the difference between *original* and *derivative* power ; the fearful inferiority of the loftiest subject to his sovereign. Roused from the intoxicating belief of his own greatness by this sudden reverse of fortune, he studiously compared the power which he had possessed, with that which had deprived him of it ; and his ambition observed the steps which he had yet to surmount upon the ladder of greatness. From the moment he had so bitterly experienced the fatal weight of sovereign power, his efforts were directed to its attainment ; it was the violence which he himself had suffered, that tempted him to violence. Had he not been outraged and insulted, he might have obsequiously dedicated his services to the crown, satisfied with the glory of being the most distinguished of its servants. It was only where it was forced by violence from its sphere, that his restless star wandered from the system to which it belonged, and drove, with destructive violence, against its sun.

Meantime Gustavus Adolphus was overrunning the north of Germany ; one place after another yielded to him ; and the flower of the Austrian army had fallen at Leipzig. The intelligence of this defeat soon reached the ears of Wallenstein, who, in the retired obscurity of a private station in Prague, contemplated from a distance the tumult of war. The news, which filled the breasts of the Catholics with dismay, announced to him the return of greatness and good fortune. It was

for him that Gustavus Adolphus was labouring. Scarce had the latter begun to acquire reputation by his military operations, when Wallenstein endeavoured to court his friendship, and to make common cause with this fortunate enemy of Austria. The banished Count Thurn, who had long before dedicated his services to the King of Sweden, undertook to communicate Wallenstein's congratulations to the King, and to invite him to a close alliance with the Duke. Wallenstein demanded 15,000 men from the King, with whose assistance, and that of the troops, he himself would raise, he undertook to conquer Bohemia and Moravia; to surprise Vienna; and drive the Emperor, his master, into Italy. Strongly as the unexpected nature of this proposal, and the extravagance of its promises, excited the suspicions of Gustavus Adolphus, he was too good a judge of merit, to repel the offers of so important a friend with coldness. But when Wallenstein, encouraged by the favourable reception his first message had met with, renewed his proposals, after the battle of Breitenfeld, and pressed for an explicit answer, the prudent monarch hesitated to intrust his reputation to the chimerical projects of this daring adventurer, and to commit so large a force to a man who openly announced himself a traitor. He excused himself on the ground of the weakness of his army, which must suffer in its march through the empire, by the detachment of so large a body; and thus, perhaps, by excess of caution, lost an opportunity of putting a speedy termination to the war. He afterwards endeavoured, when too late, to renew the negotiation. But the favourable moment was past, and Wallen-

stein's offended pride never forgave the neglect with which he had been treated.

But the King's refusal, perhaps, only accelerated the breach which, from the nature of their character, was sooner or later inevitable. Both born to give laws, not to receive them, they never could have cordially united in an undertaking which, more than any other, required reciprocal submission and sacrifices. Wallenstein was nothing where he was not every thing ; he must either act with unlimited power, or not at all. Gustavus had an equal aversion to all sort of dependence, and had almost given up his advantageous alliance with France, lest its interference should fetter his own independent freedom of action. The former was lost to his own party, unless he was its leader ; the latter, if possible, still less inclined to follow the instructions of another. If the pretensions of his rival were so irksome to the Duke of Friedland, in the conduct of their joint operations, they would be insupportable in the division of the spoil. The proud monarch might condescend to accept of the assistance of a rebellious subject, against the Emperor, and to requite this important service with regal munificence ; but he never could so far forget his own dignity, and the majesty of royalty, as to grant that reward, at which the extravagant ambition of Wallenstein aimed ; to recompense a useful act of treason by a crown. It was from him that Wallenstein had reason to expect the most decided and formidable opposition, in his views on the Bohemian crown, even if all Europe beside should be disposed to acquiesce in his ambitious aim ; and in all Europe he was the only

one who could give strength and effect to his opposition. If raised to the situation of dictator in Germany, by Wallenstein's own assistance, he might turn his arms against the man to whom he owed his elevation, and hold himself acquitted of all obligations towards a traitor. There was no room for a Wallenstein under such an ally; and it was, apparently, this conviction, and not his designs upon the Imperial throne, to which he alluded, when, after the death of the King of Sweden, he was heard to say, "It is well for him and me that he is gone, the German empire could not require two such leaders."

This first attempt to be revenged on the house of Austria had failed; but the purpose itself remained fixed, the mode of its execution only was altered. What he had failed in effecting with the King of Sweden, he hoped to attain with less difficulty and more advantage, from the Elector of Saxony, whom he expected to be able to lead into his views, though he despaired of success with Gustavus Adolphus. Maintaining a continued correspondence with his old friend Arnheim, he now laboured to effect an alliance with Saxony, by which he hoped to render himself equally formidable to the Emperor and the King of Sweden. He had the more reason to expect that a proposal, which, if successful, was likely to deprive the Swedish monarch of his influence in Germany, would be favourably received by John George, from the jealousy which, he knew, that prince entertained of the power of Gustavus Adolphus, and the dislike he felt to the lofty pretensions of the King. If he succeeded in separating Saxony from the Swedish alliance, and, in

conjunction with that power, establishing a third party in the empire, the fate of the war would be placed in his hand, and by this single step he would succeed in gratifying his revenge against the Emperor, revenging the neglect of the Swedish monarch, and erecting the fabric of his own greatness on the ruin of both.

But whatever measures he might adopt for the accomplishment of his designs, it was evident they could not be carried into effect without the support of an army entirely devoted to him. This army could not be raised with such secrecy, as not to excite suspicion at the Imperial Court, and thus to frustrate his design in the very outset. The rebellious purposes for which they were destined, must be concealed from them till the moment of their execution, since otherwise it could scarcely be expected that they would listen to the voice of a traitor against their legitimate sovereign. The army therefore must be raised publicly, and in name of the Emperor, and Wallenstein placed at their head, with unlimited authority by the Emperor himself; and this could be effected only by his accepting anew the command of the army, and the unrestrained management of the war. Yet neither his pride nor his interest permitted him to sue in person for this post, or to solicit from the favour of the Emperor the possession of a limited power, when he had reason to expect that an unlimited authority might be extorted from his fears. In order to make himself the master of the terms on which the command of the army was to be confided to him, his course was to wait until the post should be forced upon him. This was the advice he received from Arnheim, and this the

end for which he laboured with such profound policy, and such unceasing activity.

Convinced that nothing but extreme necessity would remove the Emperor's irresolution, and overcome the opposition of his most zealous enemies, Bavaria and Spain, he laboured henceforth to further the progress of the enemy, and increase the embarrassments of his master. It was apparently by his advice, and at his instigation, that the Saxons, on their march into Lusatia and Silesia, had turned towards Bohemia, and overrun that defenceless kingdom; the rapidity of their conquests in that quarter was equally the result of his endeavours. By the apprehensions which he affected, he paralyzed every attempt at resistance; and his precipitate retreat was the means of delivering the capital to the enemy. At a conference with the Saxon General at Kaunitz, under pretext of negotiating for a peace, the arrangements for the conspiracy appear to have been completed; and the conquest of Bohemia was the first fruits of this mutual understanding. While he was thus personally endeavouring to increase the embarrassments of Austria, and while his views were effectually supported by the rapid progress of the Swedes upon the Rhine, his friends and bribed adherents in Vienna were instructed to circulate the loudest complaints of the public distress, and to represent the dismissal of the General as the sole cause of all these calamities. "Had Wallenstein commauded, matters would never have come to this," exclaimed a thousand voices; while their opinions found supporters even in the Emperor's privy council.

Their repeated arguments were not necessary

to convince the distressed monarch of the services of his General, and the error into which he had fallen. His dependence on Bavaria and the League had soon become insupportable to him ; but this dependence prevented him from showing his distrust, or irritating the Elector by the recal of Wallenstein. But now when the necessity became every day more urgent, and the weakness of Bavaria more obvious, he no longer hesitated to listen to the friends of the Duke, and to take into consideration their overtures for his restoration to command. The immense riches he possessed, the universal reputation he enjoyed, the rapidity with which six years before he had brought into the field an army of 40,000 men, the small expense at which he had maintained this numerous army, the exploits he had performed at its head, the fidelity and zeal he had manifested in his cause, still lived in the Emperor's recollection, and represented Wallenstein to him as the ablest instrument to restore the balance between the belligerent powers, to save Austria, and support the cause of the Catholic religion. However humiliating to the Imperial pride to make so unequivocal an admission of past errors and present necessity ; however painful to descend to entreaties from the height of his Imperial supremacy ; however doubtful the fidelity of so deeply injured and implacable an enemy ; however loud and urgent the remonstrances of the Spanish minister and the Elector of Bavaria against this step, the immediate pressure of necessity finally overcame every other consideration, and the friends of the Duke were authorized to learn his sentiments, and to hold out to him the prospect of his restoration.

Informed of all these favourable negotiations in the Emperor's cabinet, Wallenstein possessed sufficient command over himself to conceal the inward triumph he felt beneath the mark of indifference. The moment of vengeance was come, and his proud heart triumphed in the prospect of repaying with interest the injuries he had received at the hands of the Emperor. He expatiated with artful eloquence upon the tranquil happiness of a private station which he had enjoyed since his retirement from the political theatre. He had tasted too long, he said, the pleasures of independence and study, to abandon them to pursue the vain phantom of renown, and the uncertain favour of princes. His desire of glory and of greatness was at an end : tranquillity and repose was now the sole object of his wishes. The better to conceal his impatience, he declined the Emperor's invitation to the Court, but at the same time came to Znaim in Moravia, in order to facilitate the negotiations with the Court.

At first it was proposed to limit the authority to be intrusted to him by the presence of a superior, and thereby also to satisfy the scruples of the Elector of Bavaria. The Imperial deputies, Questenberg and Werdenberg, who, as old friends of the Duke, had been selected for this delicate mission, were instructed to propose to him the King of Hungary as his superintendent, who should remain with the army, and learn the art of war under Wallenstein. But the very mention of his name, threatened to put a period to the whole negotiation. Wallenstein declared he never would admit of any associate in command ; not even the Deity himself. But even when this obnoxious point

was given up, Prince Eggenberg, the Emperor's minister and favourite, who had always been the zealous champion of Wallenstein, long exhausted his eloquence in vain to overcome the pretended aversion to the Duke. "The Emperor," he admitted, "had lost in Wallenstein the most costly jewel in his crown : but this step which he had already deeply repented, he had been compelled to take contrary to his own inclination ; while his esteem for the Duke had remained unaltered, his favour for him undiminished. He even gave the most decisive proof of these sentiments by the unlimited confidence he reposed in his fidelity, and his capacity to repair the errors of his predecessors, and to change the whole aspect of affairs. It would be great and noble in him to sacrifice his just resentment to the good of his country ; dignified and worthy of him to refute the calumny of his enemies, by redoubling the warmth of his zeal. "This victory over himself," concluded the Prince, would crown his inestimable services to the empire, and render him the greatest man of his age.

These humiliating confessions, and flattering assurances, seemed at last to disarm the resentment of the Duke ; but not until he had given full vent to his reproaches against the Emperor, had pompously enumerated his own services, and degraded to the utmost the monarch who solicited his assistance, did he condescend to lend an ear to the proposals of the minister. As if he had been influenced entirely by the force of their reasonings, he consented with apparent reluctance and haughtiness, to that which was the most ardent wish of his heart ; and deigned to favour the ambassadors with a ray of hope. But far from terminating the embarrassment of the Emperor, by

a full and unconditional assurance of support, he only partially acceded to what was required of him, that he might exalt the value of that which remained. He accepted the command, but only for three months; merely for the purpose of raising an army, but not of leading it against the enemy. He wished only to display his power and ability in its organization, and to convince the Emperor of the value of that assistance, which he still retained in his hands. Convinced that an army raised from nothing, by his name alone, would sink into nothing, without its original creator, he made use of it only as a lure, by means of which, more important concessions might be afterwards extorted from his master; and yet Ferdinand congratulated himself, even in the partial acquisition he had made.

Wallenstein did not long delay the fulfilment of those promises which Germany regarded as chimerical, and which Gustavus Adolphus had considered as extravagant. But the foundation had been long ago laid, and he now only put in motion those engines which had been prepared for the purpose years before. Scarcely had the news of Wallenstein's preparations been communicated, when, from every quarter of the Austrian monarchy, crowds of soldiers repaired to try their fortunes under this general. Many who had formerly fought under his standards, had been eye-witnesses of his great actions, and experienced his magnanimity, emerged from their obscurity to share with him a second career of riches and renown. The greatness of the pay he promised allured thousands to his side, and the plentiful supplies the soldiers were likely to receive at

the expense of the peasantry, was to the latter an irresistible temptation, rather at once to embrace a military life, than to be the victims of its oppression. All the Austrian provinces were compelled to afford assistance in these preparations. No condition was exempt from taxation—no dignity or privilege from capitation. The Spanish Court, as well as the King of Hungary, agreed to advance a considerable sum. The ministers made large presents, while Wallenstein himself contributed 200,000 dollars from his own income to accelerate the preparations. The poorer officers he supported from his own revenues ; and, by his own example, by commissions and dignities, and splendid promises, he induced all, who were able, to raise troops at their own expense. Whoever raised a corps at his own cost was allowed to be its commander. In the selection of the officers religion made no difference. Riches, bravery, and experience, were more regarded than faith. By this impartiality in his treatment of different religious sects, and still more by his express declaration, that his present preparations had nothing to do with religion, the Protestant subjects of the empire were tranquillized, and induced to bear their share of the public burdens without complaint. The Duke at the same time lost no opportunity of treating with foreign states for supplies of men and money in his own name. He prevailed on the Duke of Lorraine a second time to espouse the cause of the Emperor. Poland was induced to supply him with Cossacks, and Italy with warlike necessities. Before the three months were expired, the army, which was assembled in Moravia, amounted to no less than 40,000 men, chiefly col-

lected from the remainder of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and the German provinces of the House of Austria. What all Europe had deemed impracticable, Wallenstein, to the astonishment of all, had in this short period effected. The charm of his name, his treasures, and his genius, had assembled in arms as many thousands, as Austria had expected hundreds. Provided even to superfluity with all supplies, commanded by experienced officers, and inflamed by enthusiastic anticipations of victory, this new created army awaited only the signal of their leader, to show themselves worthy of his choice by their bravery in the field.

The Duke had fulfilled his promise, and the army was ready to take the field; he then retired, and left to the Emperor the choice of its leader. But it would have been as easy to raise a second army, as to find any other leader than Wallenstein for the first. This promising army, the last hope of the Emperor, was but a mere illusion, when the charm was dissolved by which it had been raised; by Wallenstein, it had been raised into existence, and, without him, it sank, like a magical creation, into its original nothingness. The officers were either bound to him by pecuniary obligations, or as his adherents closely connected with his interests and the preservation of his power. The command of the regiments had been intrusted to his own relations, creatures, and favourites. He, and he alone, could realize the extravagant promises by which the soldiery had been lured into his service. His word was the only security they held for the fulfillment of their bold expectations; a blind reliance on his omnipotence,

the only bond of connection, which linked together, and blended the discordant energies of this vast mass into one common soul. The good fortune of every individual was at an end, with the retirement of him, who alone could insure its fulfilment.

However little Wallenstein was serious in his refusal, he availed himself successfully of this means of terrifying the Emperor into compliance with his extravagant demands. The progress of the enemy every day increased the pressure of his difficulties, while the remedy was also close at hand ; a word from him might terminate the general embarrassment. Prince Eggenberg, his friend, at length received orders for the third and last time, to use his interest with him to accept the command on any conditions.

He found him at Znaim in Moravia, pompously surrounded by those troops, which were the object of the Emperor's wishes. The deputy of his Sovereign was received as a suppliant by the haughty subject. "He never could trust," he said, "to a restoration to office, for which he was indebted solely to necessity, not to the Emperor's sense of justice. He was now courted, because the danger had reached its height, and safety was expected only from his arm ; but his services would soon be forgotten, and the return of security to the Emperor, would be the signal also for the return of ingratitude. His long earned renown would be at an end, if he deceived the expectations entertained of him ; his repose and happiness must be sacrificed even if he fulfilled them. The old jealousies entertained of him would soon be excited anew, and the dependent monarch would not

hesitate, a second time, to sacrifice a servant whose assistance he could dispense with, to his convenience. Better for him voluntarily, and at once, to quit a post, of which he would sooner or later be deprived by the intrigues of his enemies. Security and content were to be expected only in the bosom of private life ; and nothing but the wish to oblige the Emperor had induced him reluctantly, and for a time, to relinquish his repose."

Tired of this long farce, the minister at last assumed a serious tone, and threatened the obstinate Duke with the whole weight of the Emperor's resentment, if he persisted in his refusal. "The Imperial dignity had already stooped but too far ; and yet, instead of exciting his magnanimity by its concessions, had only increased his pride and his obstinacy. If this sacrifice had been made in vain, he would not answer, that the suppliant might not be converted into the sovereign, and that the monarch might not avenge his injured dignity on his rebellious subject. Whatever might have been the errors of Ferdinand, the Emperor at least had a right to demand obedience ; the man might be mistaken, but the monarch could not be expected to confess his error. If the Duke of Friedland had suffered unjustly, the injury might yet be repaired ; the wound which it had itself inflicted, the hand of the Emperor might heal. If he asked security for his person and his dignities, the Emperor's equity would refuse him no reasonable demand. Every thing might be forgiven except the contempt of majesty ; disobedience to its orders cancelled even the most brilliant services. These services were now required by Ferdinand, and he required them as Emperor.

Whatever price Wallenstein might set upon them would be granted ; but there was no alternative between obedience to his commands, and encountering the full weight of his indignation.

Wallenstein, whose extensive possessions within the Austrian monarchy were directly exposed to the power of the Emperor, strongly felt that this was no idle threat ; yet it was not fear which at length overcame his dissembled reluctance. The imperious tone of the deputies convinced him but too plainly of the weakness and despair which gave rise to it, while the Emperor's readiness to accede to any conditions, showed him that he had attained the summit of his wishes. He now apparently yielded to the persuasions of Eggenberg ; and left him, in order to adjust the conditions on which he accepted the command.

It was not without anxiety that the minister awaited the writing in which the haughtiest of subjects prescribed laws to the proudest of sovereigns. But however limited was the confidence he entertained in the discretion of his friend, the extravagant contents of this writing surpassed even his utmost expectations. Wallenstein demanded the unlimited command over all the German armies of Austria and Spain, with full power of rewards and punishments. Neither the King of Hungary, nor the Emperor himself, were to appear in the army, still less to exert any authority in regard to it. No commission in the army, no pension or letter of grace, was to be granted by the Emperor without Wallenstein's approval. All the conquests and confiscations that should take place were to be placed entirely at the disposal of Wallenstein, to the exclusion of every other tri-

bunal. For his ordinary pay, an Imperial hereditary estate was to be assigned him, with another of the conquered estates within the empire for his extraordinary expenses. Every Austrian province was to be opened to him if he required it, in case of retreat. He farther demanded the assurance of the possession of the Duchy of Mecklenburg, in the event of a future peace; and a formal and timely intimation, if he was a second time to be deprived of the command.

In vain the minister entreated him to moderate these demands, by which the Emperor was deprived of all authority over the troops, and rendered entirely dependent on his general. He was too well aware of the value placed on his services to abate the price at which they were to be purchased. If the Emperor was compelled by the pressure of circumstances to yield to these demands, it was not a mere feeling of haughtiness and desire of revenge which induced the Duke to make them. But his plan of future rebellion was now formed, and the conditions for which Wallenstein stipulated in this treaty with the court, were essential to its success. That plan required that the Emperor should be deprived of all authority in Germany, and placed entirely under the guidance of his general; and this object would be attained the moment Ferdinand subscribed these conditions. The use which Wallenstein intended to make of his army (a use very different from that for which it was intrusted to him) admitted of no participation of power, and still less of any authority over the army superior to his own. To have unlimited command of the inclinations of his troops, he must also have the sole command of

their destiny ; in order insensibly to attach the leading officers to himself, and to transfer to his own person the rights of sovereignty, which were only committed to him for a time by a higher authority, he must cautiously keep the latter out of the view of the army. Hence his obstinate refusal to allow any prince of the House of Austria to be present with the army. The power of disposing of all the conquered and confiscated property of the empire, also furnished him with fearful means of purchasing the services of dependents and instruments of his plans, and of playing the Dictator in Germany more absolutely than any Emperor in time of peace. By the privilege of using the Austrian provinces as a place of refuge in case of retreat, he possessed the power of holding the Emperor a prisoner by means of his own army, and within his own dominions ; of exhausting the strength of these countries, and of undermining the power of Austria in its very central recesses.

Whatever might now be the issue, he had equally secured his own advantage by the conditions he had extorted from the Emperor. If circumstances favoured the accomplishment of his daring projects, this treaty with the Emperor facilitated its execution ; if otherwise, the advantages he derived from it would at least afford him a brilliant compensation for the failure of his plans. But how could he consider an agreement valid which was extorted from his sovereign, and grounded upon treason ? How could he hope to bind the Emperor by a written agreement, in the face of a law which condemned to death every one who should have the presumption to impose any condition upon him ? But this criminal was at present

the most indispensable man in the empire, and Ferdinand, well practised in dissimulation, granted him for the present all he required.

The Imperial army had now found a leader worthy of the name. Every other authority in the army, even that of the Emperor himself, ceased from the moment Wallenstein assumed the command. Every thing was invalid which did not proceed from him. From the banks of the Danube to those of the Weser and the Oder, the influence of his pervading and animating genius was immediately felt; a new spirit seemed to inspire the troops; a new epoch of the war began. The Catholics were animated by fresh hopes, the Protestants agitated by new anxiety at the change of affairs.

The greater the extent of the sacrifices, by which the services of the new General had been purchased, the loftier were the expectations justly entertained of them at the Court of the Emperor. But the Duke was in no haste to realize these expectations. Already in the vicinity of Bohemia, and at the head of a formidable force, he had but to show himself in order to overpower the exhausted force of the Saxons, and to commence his career in a brilliant manner by the reconquest of that kingdom. But, contented with harassing the enemy by trifling attacks of the Croats, he abandoned the greater part of that kingdom to the foe, and moved calmly forward in pursuit of his own selfish plans. His plan was, not to conquer the Saxons, but to unite with them. Occupied with this important object, he remained inactive in the field, in the hope of insuring his victory more easily by means of nego-

tiation. He left nothing untried to detach this Prince from the Swedish Alliance ; and Ferdinand himself, still inclined to an accommodation with this Prince, favoured his efforts. But the extent of his obligations to Sweden were not yet so completely forgotten by the Elector, as to permit him to be guilty of such an act of perfidy ; and even had he been inclined to yield to that temptation, the equivocal character of Wallenstein, and the bad character of the Austrian policy, allowed him to put no faith in the performance of its promises. Too notorious already as a treacherous statesman, he met with no confidence upon the only occasion when he intended to act honestly, and yet circumstances did not permit him to prove the sincerity of his intentions by the disclosure of his real motives.

He unwillingly determined, therefore, to extort, by force of arms, what he had failed of obtaining by means of negotiation. He suddenly assembled his troops, and appeared before Prague ere the Saxons had time to advance to its relief. After a short resistance on the part of the besieged, the treachery of the Capuchins opened the gates to one of his regiments ; and the garrison, who had taken refuge in the citadel, laid down their arms under disgraceful conditions. Master of the capital, he hoped to facilitate his negotiations at the Saxon Court ; but while he renewed his proposals to Arnheim, he did not hesitate to enforce them by striking a decisive blow. He hastened to take possession of the narrow passes between Aussig and Pirna, in order to cut off the retreat of the Saxons into their own country ; but the rapidity of Arnheim's ope-

ger. After the retreat of this General, the last strongholds of the Saxons, Egra and Leutmeritz, surrendered to the conqueror; and, in less time than it had been lost, was the kingdom restored to its legitimate sovereign. Wallenstein, less occupied in promoting the interests of his master than in furthering his own plans, now thought of carrying the seat of war into Saxony, in order to compel the Elector, by the devastation of his territories, to enter into a private treaty with the Emperor, or rather with himself. But, however little accustomed to make his will bend to the influence of circumstances, he now perceived the necessity of postponing his favourite scheme for a time to affairs of more pressing urgency.

While he was thus driving the Saxons out of Bohemia, Gustavus Adolphus had been pursuing his conquests, as has been already detailed, on the Rhine and the Danube, and rolling the torrent of war through Franconia and Lusatia to the frontiers of Bavaria. Defeated upon the Lech, and deprived of his strongest support by the death of Count Tilly, Maximilian pressingly urged the Emperor immediately to despatch the Duke of Friedland from Bohemia to his assistance, and, by the defence of Bavaria, to avert the danger from Austria itself. He now addressed the same request to Wallenstein, and prayed him, in the most urgent manner, to despatch some regiments to his assistance in the meantime, till he himself should follow with the main army. Ferdinand seconded the request with all his influence; and one messenger after another was despatched to Wallenstein to hasten his march towards the Danube.

But it now became apparent, how completely the Emperor had sacrificed his authority, in resigning the command of his troops, and the power of issuing orders into other hands. Indifferent towards Maximilian's entreaties, and deaf to the repeated commands of the Emperor, Wallenstein remained inactive in Bohemia, and abandoned the Elector to his fate. The remembrance of the evil service which Maximilian had rendered him with the Emperor, at the Diet of Ratisbon, had sunk deep into the implacable mind of the Duke, while he was fully aware of the Elector's late attempts to prevent his restoration. The moment of revenge was now come, and Maximilian was destined severely to feel that he had provoked the resentment of the most revengeful of men. Wallenstein maintained, that Bohemia could not be left undefended, and that Austria could not be better protected, than by allowing the Swedish army to waste its strength before the Bavarian fortress. Thus he chastised his enemy by the arm of the Swedes; and while one place after another fell into their hands, he left the Elector vainly to await his arrival in Ratisbon. And not until the entire subjection of Bohemia left him no farther excuse, and the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus in Bohemia, threatened Austria itself with immediate danger, did he yield to the remonstrances of the Elector and the Emperor, and resolved on the long-expected union with the former; an event, on which, according to the general anticipation of the Catholics, would depend the fate of the campaign.

Gustavus Adolphus, too weak in numbers to cope even with the army of Wallenstein alone,

had still greater reason to apprehend that junction, and men were even astonished that he did not endeavour with more energy to prevent it. He apparently reckoned too much on the mutual dislike of the two leaders, which left little probability of any union of their forces for one common end; and it was too late to repair the error, when the event contradicted his views. He hastened, on the first certain intelligence he received of their intentions, into the upper Palatinate, to intercept the progress of the Elector: but the latter had already anticipated him, and the junction had been effected at Egra.

This frontier town had been selected by Walenstein, as the scene of his intended triumph over his former rival. Not content with seeing him as a suppliant at his feet, he imposed upon him the hard condition of leaving his territories exposed to the enemy in his rear, and by this long march to meet him, declaring the necessity and distress under which he laboured. Even to this humiliation, the haughty Prince now submitted with calmness. It had cost him a severe struggle to apply for protection to the man who, had it depended on his own wishes, never would have possessed the *power* of affording it: but having once formed his resolution, he was firm enough to bear those evils which were inseparable from that resolve, and sufficiently master of himself to overlook these petty grievances in order to secure an important end.

But if it had been difficult to effect this junction, it was equally so to arrange the conditions on which it was to subsist. The united army must be placed under the command of one individual, if the very object of the union was to be attained,

and each was equally averse to yield to the superior authority of the other. If Maximilian's claims were enforced by his Electoral dignity, the nobleness of his descent, and his influence in the empire, those of Wallenstein were not less strongly supported by his military renown, and the unlimited authority intrusted to him by the Emperor. If the pride of the former could with difficulty stoop to serve under an Imperial subject, the haughtiness of Wallenstein was proportionally flattered, by the idea of imposing laws on so imperious a spirit. An obstinate dispute ensued, which, however, terminated in a mutual agreement to Wallenstein's advantage. The unlimited command of both armies, particularly in battle, was committed to the latter, while the Elector was deprived of all power of altering the order of battle, or even the route of the army. He retained nothing but the right of punishment and rewards over his own troops, and the free use of these, as soon as they ceased to act in conjunction with the Imperial troops.

After these preliminary arrangements, they at last ventured upon an interview ; but not until they had mutually promised to bury the past in oblivion, and all the outward formalities of a reconciliation had been arranged. According to agreement, the two princes publicly embraced, in the sight of their troops, and made mutual professions of friendship, while their breasts, in reality, overflowed with hatred. Maximilian, practised in dissimulation, possessed sufficient command over himself, not to betray in a single feature his real feelings ; but the eyes of Wallenstein sparkled with a malicious triumph ; and the constraint which

was visible in all his movements, betrayed the strength of the emotion which overmastered his proud soul.

The combined Imperial and Bavarian armies now amounted to nearly 60,000 men, chiefly consisting of veteran soldiers, before whom the King of Sweden was not in a condition to keep the field. He hastened, therefore, as soon as his attempt to prevent their junction failed, to commence his retreat into Franconia, only awaiting some decisive movement on the part of the enemy, in order to form his resolution. The position of the combined armies, between the frontiers of Saxony and Bavaria, left him for some time in doubt whether their intention was to remove the scene of war from the first of these countries, or endeavour to draw back the Swedes from the Danube, and deliver Bavaria. Saxony had been stripped of troops by Arnheim, in order to pursue his conquests in Silesia; not without a secret view, as was generally suspected, of favouring the entrance of the Duke of Friedland into that electorate, and of thus forcing the irresolute John George into a treaty with the Emperor. Gustavus Adolphus himself, in the firm belief that Wallenstein's views were directed against Saxony, hastily despatched a strong reinforcement to the assistance of his confederate, and determined, as soon as circumstances would permit, to follow with his whole force. But the movements of Wallenstein's army soon convinced him that the attack was to be directed against himself; and the march of the Duke through the Upper Palatinate, placed the matter beyond a doubt. It

was now time to think of his own security ; to fight, rather for his existence than his supremacy, in Germany ; and to borrow from his own fertile genius, the resources for his preservation. The approach of the enemy surprised him before he had time to collect his troops, which were scattered over Germany, or to summon the allied princes to his assistance. Too weak in numbers to check the advance of the enemy, he had no choice left, but either to throw himself into Nuremberg, and meet the danger within its walls, or to sacrifice that city, and await a reinforcement, under the cannon of Donauwerth. Undismayed by danger or difficulty, where humanity or honour called him, he chose the first without hesitation, firmly determined rather to bury himself with his whole army under the ruins of Nuremberg, than to purchase his safety by the sacrifice of his confederates.

Preparations were immediately made for surrounding the city and suburbs by redoubts, and forming within these an entrenched camp. Several thousand workmen were immediately employed in this extensive operation ; and the inhabitants of Nuremberg seemed animated by a heroic resolution, to hazard life and property for the common cause. A trench, eight feet in depth and twelve in breadth, inclosed the whole fortification ; the lines were protected by redoubts and batteries, the entrances by half moons. The river Pegnitz, which flows through Nuremberg, divided the whole camp into two semicircles, connected by several bridges. About three hundred pieces of cannon were mounted on the walls of the town and the batteries of the camp. The peasantry from the neighbouring

villages and the inhabitants of Nuremberg, assisted the Swedish soldiers so effectually, that on the seventh day the army was ready to enter the camp, and, in a fortnight, this immense work was completed.

While these transactions took place without the walls, the magistrates of Nuremberg were employed in filling the magazines, and providing themselves with warlike stores, provisions, and all necessaries for a long siege. They did not neglect, at the sametime, the health of the inhabitants, which was likely to be endangered by the conflux of so many people, but enforced the strictest regulations as to cleanliness. In order, if necessary, to support the King, the youths of the city were embodied and trained to arms, the previously existing militia of the town considerably reinforced, and a new regiment raised, consisting of four-and-twenty names according to the characters of the old alphabet. Gustavus had, in the meantime, called to his assistance his allies, Duke William of Weimar, and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel; and ordered his generals on the Rhine, in Thuringia and Lower Saxony, to set out immediately and join him with their troops in Nuremberg. His army, which was encamped within the lines that enclosed the town, scarcely exceeded 16,000 men, not even amounting to one-third of the enemy's number.

The Imperialists had, in the meantime, been advancing by slow marches towards Neumark, where Wallenstein made a general review of his troops. At the sight of this formidable force, he could not refrain from indulging in a childish boast. "In four days," said he, "it will be shown whether I,

or the King of Sweden, is to be master of the world." Yet, notwithstanding his superiority, he did nothing to fulfil his promise ; and, even let slip the opportunity of routing his enemy, where the latter had the hardihood to leave his lines to meet him. " Battles enough have been fought," was his answer to those who advised him to attack the King ; " it is now time to try another method." It was now evident how much was gained by the possession of a general, whose well founded reputation required none of those rash enterprises, to which younger soldiers are driven in the hope of gaining a name. Satisfied that the desperation of the enemy would render a victory dearly bought, while a defeat in this quarter would, irretrievably, ruin the Emperor's affairs, he contented himself with wearing out the military ardour of his opponent by a tedious blockade, and by thus depriving him of every opportunity of availing himself of his impetuous bravery, taking from him the very advantage which had hitherto rendered him invincible. Without attempting any attack therefore, he erected a strong fortified camp on the other side of the Pegnitz, and opposite Nuremberg ; and, by this well chosen position, cut off from the city and the camp of Gustavus all supplies from Franconia, Swabia, and Thuringia. Thus he held the city and the King at once besieged ; and flattered himself with the hope of slowly, but surely, wearing out by famine and pestilence the courage of his opponent, whom he had no wish to encounter in the field.

But, too little acquainted with the resources and the strength of his adversary, Wallenstein had not taken measures to avert from himself the fate

he was preparing for others. The peasantry had fled with their effects from the whole of the neighbouring country ; and the slender portion of provision which remained, must be obstinately contested with the Swedes. The King spared the magazines within the town as long as possible, endeavouring to support his army by provisions from the neighbourhood ; and these skirmishes produced a constant warfare between the Croats and the Swedish cavalry, of which the surrounding country exhibited the most melancholy traces. The necessities of life must be obtained sword in hand ; and the foraging parties could not venture out without a numerous escort. The town opened its magazines to the King as soon as the necessity became general, but Wallenstein had to support his troops from a distance. A large convoy, purchased in Bavaria, was on its way to him ; and a thousand men were sent along with it, to secure its safe escort to the camp. Gustavus Adolphus, having received intelligence of its approach, immediately sent out a regiment of cavalry to intercept the convoy ; and the darkness of the night favoured the enterprise. The whole convoy, with the town in which it was, fell into the hands of the Swedes ; the Imperial escort was cut to pieces ; about 12,000 cattle carried off ; and a thousand waggons, loaded with bread, which could not easily be brought away, were set on fire. Seven regiments, which Wallenstein had sent out to cover the entrance of the long expected convoy, were attacked by the King, who had sent out a similar body to intercept it, routed after an obstinate action, and driven back into the Imperial camp, with the loss of 400 men. So many obstacles, and so

firm and unexpected a resistance on the part of the King, induced the Duke of Friedland to regret that he had allowed the opportunity of fighting to pass by. The strength of the Swedish camp rendered an attack hopeless; and the armed youth of Nuremberg served the King as a nursery from which he could supply his loss of troops. The want of provisions, which was felt in the Imperial camp as fully as in the Swedish, left him in doubt which of the two parties would first be compelled to give way.

The two armies had now remained in view of each other for fifteen days, defended by inaccessible entrenchments, without undertaking any thing beyond slight attacks and unimportant skirmishes. On both sides infectious diseases, the natural consequence of bad nourishment, and a crowded population, had occasioned a greater loss than the sword; and this evil daily increased. At length the long expected succours appeared in the Swedish camp; and the numerous reinforcements the King thus received, now enabled him to obey the dictates of his native bravery, and to break the charm by which he had hitherto been fettered.

Pursuant to his instructions, Duke William of Weimar had hastily drawn together a corps from the garrisons in Lower Saxony and Thuringia, which, at Schweinfurt in Franconia, was joined by four Saxon regiments, and at Kitzingen by the corps of the Rhine, which the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Palatine of Birkenfeld, despatched to the assistance of the King. The Chancellor, Oxenstiern, undertook to lead these combined forces to their place of destination. After uniting with the Duke of Weimar himself, and the Swedish Gene-

ral Banner at Windsheim, he advanced by rapid marches to Pruck and Eltersdorf, where he passed the Rednitz, and reached the Spanish camp in safety. This reinforcement amounted to nearly 50,000 men, and was attended by a train of 60 pieces of cannon, and 4000 baggage waggons. Gustavus thus saw himself at the head of nearly 70,000 men, without reckoning the militia of Nuremberg, which, in case of necessity, could bring into the field about 30,000 fighting men; a fearful force, opposed to another not less formidable. The war, compressed and narrowed to this quarter, seemed on the point of being decided by a single battle; and the States of Europe looked with anxiety to the scene, when the whole strength of the two contending parties was concentrated, as in a focus, before Nuremberg.

But if the want of provisions had been felt even before the arrival of the Swedish succours, the evil now increased to a dreadful height in both camps, for Wallenstein had also received reinforcements from Bavaria. Besides the 12,000 men which were here opposed to each other, the horses of both armies, which amounted to 50,000, and the inhabitants of Nuremberg, far exceeding the Swedish army in numbers, there were in the camp of Wallenstein about 15,000 women, with as many drivers, and nearly the same number in that of the Swedes. The custom of the time allowed the soldier to carry his family with him to the field. A number of prostitutes followed the camp of the Imperialists; while Gustavus's vigilant attention to the morals of his soldiers, promoted marriages, with the view of preventing such excesses. For the rising generation,

to whom this camp was their native country, regular military schools were set on foot, and a race of excellent warriors thus educated, by means of which the army might in a manner recruit itself in the course of a long campaign. No wonder, then, if these wandering nations exhausted every territory in which they took up their residence, and raised the necessaries of life to an exorbitant price. All the mills of Nuremberg were insufficient to grind the corn required for each day; and 15,000 pounds of bread, which were daily delivered by the town into the Swedish camp, excited, without allaying the hunger of the soldiers. Even the admirable care of the magistrates of Nuremberg could not prevent a great part of the horses from dying for want of food, while the increasing mortality in the camp daily consigned more than a hundred men to the grave.

To terminate this distress, Gustavus Adolphus, relying on his superiority, left his lines on the 25th day, presented himself before the enemy in order of battle, and cannonaded the Duke's camp from three batteries erected on the side of the Rednitz. But the Duke remained immoveable in his entrenchments, and contented himself with returning this attack by a distant fire of cannon and musketry. His resolution was to reduce the King to despair by his inactivity, and to overcome his resolution by the force of famine; and no remonstrances of Maximilian, no impatience on the part of his army, no ridicule on the part of his opponent, could shake his purpose. Deceived in his expectations, and compelled by the increasing pressure of necessity, Gustavus now attempted impossibilities, and resolved to storm a camp

which art and nature had combined to render impregnable.

After intrusting his own to the protection of the militia of Nuremberg, he advanced on St Bartholomew's day (the fifty-eighth since his encampment) in full order of battle, and passed the Rednitz at Furth, where he easily drove the enemy's outposts before him. The main army of the Imperialists was posted on the steep heights between the Biber and the Rednitz, called the Old Fortress and Altenberg; while the camp itself, commanded by these eminences, spread out immeasurably along the plain. On these hills the whole of the artillery was placed. Deep trenches, inaccessible redoubts, thick barricadoes, and pointed palisades, defended the approaches to the heights, from the summits of which Wallenstein calmly and securely discharged the lightnings of his artillery through the dark thunder-clouds of smoke which veiled his lines. Behind the breast-work was concealed a deceitful fire of musketry, and a certain death awaited the desperate assailant from the open mouths of a hundred cannon. Against this dangerous post Gustavus now directed his attack; 500 musketeers, supported by a few infantry (for a greater number could not act in this narrow position), enjoyed the unenvied preference of sacrificing themselves in the attempt. The assault was furious, the resistance terrible. Exposed to the whole fire of the enemy's artillery, and rendered desperate by the prospect of inevitable death, these determined warriors rushed forward to storm the heights; which, converted in an instant into a flaming volcano, rained on them a shower of balls. At the

same moment, the heavy cavalry rushed forward into the openings which the artillery had made in the close ranks of the assailants, and divided them ; till the intrepid band, leaving a hundred dead upon the field, betook themselves to flight. It was to the Germans that Gustavus had thus yielded the post of honour. Enraged at their retreat, he now led on his Finlanders to the attack, to shame the cowardice of the Germans by their northern courage. But the Finlanders, too, received with the same vehemence, also yielded to the superiority of the enemy ; and a third regiment, which succeeded them, experienced the same bad success. This was replaced by a fourth, a fifth, and a sixth ; so that during a ten hours' action, every regiment was brought forward to the attack, and repulsed with loss. A thousand mangled bodies covered the field ; yet Gustavus intrepidly maintained the attack, and Wallenstein his position.

In the mean time, a sharp contest had taken place between the Imperial cavalry and the left wing of the Swedes, which was posted in a thicket on the Rednitz, with varying success, and with much bravery and bloodshed on both sides. The horses of the Duke of Friedland and Prince Bernard of Weimar were killed under them ; the King himself had the sole of his boot carried off by a cannon-ball. The attack and resistance was renewed with undiminished obstinacy, till the approach of night involved the field in darkness, and separated the combatants. But the Swedes now found they had advanced too far to be able to retreat without danger. While the King was looking for an officer to convey to the regiments the

order to retreat, he met Colonel Hepburn, a brave Scotsman, whose native courage alone had drawn him from the camp to share in the dangers of the day. Irritated at the King's having not long before given the preference, in some dangerous mission, to a younger officer, he had rashly vowed never again to draw his sword for the King. Gustavus now addressed himself to him, praising his courage, and requesting him to order the regiments to retreat. "Sir," replied the brave soldier, "it is the only service I cannot refuse to your Majesty: for it is one of danger,"—and immediately hastened to execute his mission. The Duke Bernard of Weimar had, in the heat of the action, made himself master of one of the heights above the Old Fortress, which commanded the hills and the whole camp. But during the night such a torrent of rain fell, that it was found impossible to draw up the cannon; and this post, which had been carried with so much bloodshed, was now voluntarily abandoned. Distrusting his fortune, which on this decisive day seemed to have forsaken him, the King did not venture the following day to renew the attack with his exhausted troops; and, conquered for the first time, because he was not conqueror, he led back his army over the Rednitz. Two thousand dead which he left behind him on the field, testified the loss he had sustained; and the Duke of Friedland remained unconquered within his lines.

Both armies continued opposed to each other for fourteen days after this action, each in expectation to compelling the other to give way. Every day the provisions declined, the progress of famine became more fearful, the excesses of the sel-

diers more furious, the sufferings of the peasantry, from their rapacity, more intolerable. The increasing distress relaxed all the ties of discipline and order in the Swedish camp ; and the German regiments, in particular, were conspicuous for the outrages they indiscriminately practised on friend and foe. The weak hand of one individual was insufficient to repress excesses, which received an apparent sanction from the silence, if not the actual example, of the inferior officers. These shameful breaches of discipline, a point on which he had hitherto prided himself with justice, gave the severest pain to the King ; and the energetic terms in which he reproached the German officers for their negligence, showed the liveliness of his emotion. “ It is you yourselves, Germans,” said he, “ that rob your native country, and ruin your own confederates. As God is my judge, I hate and detest you ; my very gall rises when I look upon you. Ye set at nought my orders ; ye are the cause of the curses with which the world pursues us, the tears of poverty I am compelled to witness, the complaints which ring in my ear :— “ The King, our friend, does us more harm than even our worst enemies.” On your account it was that I stripped my crown of its treasures, and wasted more than 40 tons of gold ;* from your German empire I have not received what could furnish the means of a miserable subsistence. I gave you a share of all that God had given to me ; and had ye regarded my orders, I would have gladly shared with you all my future acquisitions. Your disregard of discipline convinces me of your

* A ton of gold in Sweden amounts to 100,000 rix-dollars.

evil intentions, whatever cause I might otherwise have to applaud your bravery."

Nuremberg had strained every nerve to maintain for eleven weeks "the vast crowd which was compressed within its boundaries ; but at last its means were exhausted, and the King's more numerous party" was obliged to determine on a retreat. Nuremberg had lost more than 10,000 of its inhabitants, and Gustavus Adolphus nearly 20,000 of his soldiers, through war and disease. The fields around the city were trampled down, the villages in ashes, the plundered peasantry were expiring on the highways ;—the scent of dead bodies infected the air, and a desolating pestilence, produced by bad provisions, the exhalations from so dense a population, and so many putrescent carcasses, and propagated by the heat of the dog-days, raged among men and beasts, and continued, long after the retreat of both armies, to load the country with misery and distress. Affected by the general distress, and despairing of being able to weary out the obstinacy of the Duke of Friedland, the King broke up his camp on the 8th September, and left Nuremberg, after taking care to furnish the town with a sufficient garrison. He advanced in complete battle-array before the enemy, who remained motionless, and did not attempt in the slightest degree to harass his retreat. He directed his march towards Neustadt, by the Aisch and Windsheim, where he remained five days, in order to refresh his troops, and at the same time to be near to Nuremberg, in case the enemy should make an attempt upon the town. But Wallenstein, as exhausted as himself, had only awaited the retreat of the Swedes to commence his own. Five

days afterwards he broke up his camp at Zirndorf, and set it on fire. A hundred columns of smoke, which rose from all the surrounding villages, announced his retreat, and showed the city the fate it had escaped. His march, which was directed on Forstheim, was accompanied by the most frightful devastation ; but he was now too far advanced to be overtaken by the King. The latter then divided his army, which the exhausted country was no longer able to support, to protect Franconia with one part, while with the other he prosecuted in person his conquests in Bavaria.

In the meantime, the Imperial Bavarian army had marched into the Bishopric of Bamberg, where it was a second time reviewed by the Duke of Friedland. He found this army, which had amounted to 60,000 men, now diminished by war, desertion and disease, to about 24,000, consisting chiefly of Bavarian troops. Thus had the encampment before Nuremberg cost both parties more than the loss of two great battles would have done, without apparently advancing the termination of the war, or satisfying the expectations and anxiety of Europe by any decisive result. The conquests of the King in Bavaria, it is true, were checked for a time by this division before Nuremberg, and Austria itself saved from invasion ; but by the retreat of both parties from that city, he was again left at full liberty to make Bavaria the theatre of war. Indifferent towards the fate of that country, and impatient of the restraint imposed upon him by his union with the Elector, the Duke of Friedland eagerly embraced the opportunity of separating from this burdensome associate, and prosecuting, with renewed earnestness, his favourite plans. Still adhering to his purpose

of effecting a separation between Saxony and Sweden, he chose this country for the winter quarters of his troops, and hoped by his destructive presence to force the Elector the more readily into his views.

No conjuncture could be more favourable for this undertaking ; the Saxons had invaded Silesia, where, assisted by the reinforcements of Brandenburg and Sweden, they had gained several advantages over the Imperialists. By a diversion against the Elector in his own territories, Silesia would be saved, and the attempt was the more easy, as Saxony, stripped of its defenders by the war in Silesia, lay open on all sides to the enemy. The necessity of saving the hereditary dominions of Austria, would afford a pretext for disregarding the remonstrances of the Elector of Bavaria, and, under the mask of a patriotic zeal for the interests of the Emperor, Maximilian might be sacrificed without difficulty. By abandoning the rich country of Bavaria to the Swedes, he hoped not to be molested by them in his enterprise against Saxony : while the increasing coldness between Gustavus and the Saxon Court, gave him little reason to fear that any extraordinary zeal for the deliverance of John George would be manifested by that monarch. Thus abandoned a second time by his artful protector, the Elector separated from Walenstein at Bamberg, to protect his defenceless territory with the small remnant of his troops, while the Imperial army, under the command of Friedland, directed its march through Bayreuth and Coburg towards the Thuringian Forest.

An Imperial general, Holk, had already been despatched into Vogtland, to lay waste this de-

fenceless province with fire and sword; he was soon followed by Gallas, another of the Duke's generals, and an equally ready instrument of his inhuman orders. Count Pappenheim too, was finally recalled out of Lower Saxony, to reinforce the diminished army of the Duke, and to complete the misery of Saxony. Churches destroyed, villages laid in ashes, harvests laid waste, families robbed of their property, and peasants assassinated, marked the progress of these barbarian hordes, under whose destructive scourge the whole of Thuringia, Vogtland and Meissen, groaned in vain.

Yet these were but the heralds of greater miseries, with which Wallenstein himself, at the head of the main army, threatened Saxony. After leaving behind him the most terrible proofs of his fury, in his march through Franconia and Thuringia, he suddenly appeared with his whole army in the Circle of Leipzig, and compelled the city, after a short siege, to surrender. His purpose was to press on to Dresden, and by the subjection of the whole country, to prescribe laws to the Elector. He was already approaching the Mulda, to overpower the Saxon army which had advanced against him, when the arrival of the King of Sweden at Erfurt, gave an unexpected check to his plans of conquest. Thus placed between the Saxon and Swedish armies, which were likely to be farther reinforced by the troops of George Duke of Luneburg from Lower Saxony, he hastily retired towards Merseberg, to unite with Count Pappenheim, and repel the advance of the Swedes.

Gustavus Adolphus had witnessed, with great uneasiness, the arts employed by Spain and Austria to detach his allies from him. The more im-

portant his alliance with Saxony, the more he had to apprehend from the inconstancy of John George. No sincere friendship had ever existed between himself and the Elector. A prince proud of his political importance, and accustomed to consider himself as the head of his party, could not see without regret and uneasiness the interference of a foreign power in the affairs of the empire; and nothing but the pressing distress in which his dominions were involved enabled him to conquer the dislike he entertained to the progress of this unwelcome intruder. The King's increasing importance in Germany, his preponderating influence in the Protestant States, the evident proofs which he betrayed of his ambitious views, which were of a character calculated to excite the vigilance of all the States of the Empire, awakened in the Elector a thousand anxieties, which the Imperial emissaries did not fail to nourish and increase. Every energetic step on the part of the King, every demand, however reasonable, which he addressed to the princes of the empire, gave rise to bitter complaints on the part of the Elector, which seemed to announce an approaching rupture. Even among the generals of both powers similar divisions took place, whenever they were called upon to act in common. John George's natural dislike to war, and his still lingering spirit of submission to Austria, favoured the efforts of Arnheim; who, maintaining a constant correspondence with Wallenstein, laboured incessantly to effect a private treaty between his master and the Emperor; and if his representations for a long time were disregarded, the event proved that they had not been entirely without their effect.

Gustavus Adolphus, justly apprehensive of the consequences which the defection of so powerful an ally would produce on his future existence and prospects in Germany, spared no efforts to prevent this disastrous step; and his remonstrances had hitherto had some effect upon the Elector. But the formidable strength by which the Emperor enforced his seductive proposals, and the miseries which his refusal was likely to accumulate upon Saxony, might at length have shaken the resolution of the Elector, if he was left abandoned to his enemies; while this indifference towards so powerful a confederate would irreparably destroy the confidence of the other allied powers of Sweden in their protector. This consideration induced the King a second time to yield to the pressing instances of the distressed Elector, and to sacrifice his brilliant prospects for the preservation of this ally. He had already resolved upon a second attack on Ingolstadt; and the weakness of the Elector of Bavaria justified the hope he entertained of forcing this exhausted enemy at length to accede to a neutrality. The insurrection of the peasantry in Upper Austria, opened to him a way into that quarter, and the capital might be in his possession, before Wallenstein had time to advance to its defence. All these brilliant hopes he now abandoned for the sake of an ally, who, neither by his services nor his attachment, was worthy of the sacrifice; who, notwithstanding the pressing necessity of unity of measures, had steadily pursued his own selfish projects of advantage; and who was of importance, not from the services he was expected to render, but merely from the injury he had it in his power to inflict. How is it possible then to

suppress our regret when we know that, in this expedition, undertaken for the Elector, the great King of Sweden was destined to terminate his career?

Having rapidly collected his troops in the Circle of Franconia, he followed the march of Wallenstein through Thuringia. Duke Bernard of Weimar, who had been sent against Pappenheim, joined the King at Armstadt, who now found himself at the head of 20,000 experienced troops. At Erfurt he parted with his wife, who never more beheld him save at Weissenfels, and in his coffin; their painful and anxious adieu seemed to forebode an eternal separation. He reached Naumburg on the 1st November 1632, before the corps which the Duke of Friedland had despatched for that purpose could make itself master of the town. The inhabitants of the surrounding country flocked in crowds to look upon the hero, the avenger, the great King, who had appeared like a guardian angel in that quarter a year before. Shouts of joy every where attended his progress; the people knelt before him, and struggled for the honour of touching the sheath of his sword, or the hem of his garment. The modest hero disliked this innocent and sincere tribute of gratitude and admiration. "Is it not," said he, "as if this people would make a God of me?" Our affairs look well; but I fear the vengeance of Heaven will punish us for this presumption, and soon disclose to this deluded multitude the weakness inseparable from mortality!" How amiable does Gustavus appear to us when we were about to bid him farewell for ever! Even at the summit of good fortune he fears the judgment of fate, declines that homage which is due only to

the Immortal, and his title to our tears become stronger, the nearer he approaches to that moment that calls them forth !

Meantime the Duke of Friedland had advanced to meet the King as far as Weissenfels, resolved to maintain his winter quarters in Saxony, even at the expense of a battle. His inactivity before Nuremberg had given rise to a suspicion that he was unwilling to measure his strength with that of the Hero of the North, and the whole of his hard-earned renown was in danger, if he should a second time decline a battle. His superiority in numbers, though much less than what he possessed in the earlier part of the siege of Nuremberg, was still sufficient to flatter him with the probability of victory, if he could induce the King to fight before his junction with the Saxons. But his present confidence was founded less on his numerical superiority than on the predictions of his astrologer Seni, who had read in the stars that the good fortune of the Swedish monarch would decline in the month of November.

Between Naumburg and Weissenfels there was also a range of narrow passes, formed by a continuous chain of mountains, and the river Saal which ran at their foot, which would materially impede the advance of the Swedes, and might, with the assistance of a few troops, be rendered almost impassable. The King would then have no other choice but either to penetrate with great danger through the defiles, or commence a laborious retreat through Thuringia, and to expose the greater part of his army to a march through a desert country, deficient in every necessary for their support. But the rapidity with which Gus-

tavus Adolphus had taken possession of Naumburg, disconcerted this plan, and Wallenstein himself now waited an attack.

But in this expectation he found himself deceived, when the King, instead of advancing to meet him at Weissenfels, made preparations for entrenching himself near Naumburg, and in that position awaiting the reinforcements which the Duke of Lunenburg was preparing to lead to his assistance. Undecided whether he should advance against the King through the narrow passes between Weissenfels and Naumburg, or remain inactive in his camp, he assembled his council of war to take the opinion of his most experienced generals.

None of these deemed it advisable to attack the King in his present advantageous position, while the preparations which the latter made to fortify his camp, plainly showed that he had no intention of leaving it soon. It was equally impossible to prolong the campaign through the approaching winter, and to weary out the army, already exhausted, by a continued encampment. All voices declared in favour of the termination of the campaign; and, the more so, as the important city of Cologne upon the Rhine was threatened by the Dutch, while the progress of the enemy in Westphalia and the Lower Rhine, required the most effective aid in that quarter. The Duke of Friedland yielded to the weight of these arguments; and almost convinced that, at this season, he had no attack to apprehend on the part of the King, he allowed his troops to go into winter

quarters, but so, that they might be rapidly assembled if the enemy, contrary to all expectation, should venture an attack. Count Pappenheim was despatched, with great part of the army, to the assistance of the town of Cologne, and to take possession of the fortress of Moritzburg, in the territory of Halle, on his march. Different corps took up their winter quarters in the most convenient towns in the neighbourhood, in order to watch the motions of the enemy on all sides. Count Colleredo guarded the castle of Weissenfels, and Wallenstein himself, encamped with the remainder not far from Merseburg, between Flotzgaben and the Saal, from whence he intended to march to Leipzig, and to cut off the Saxons from the Swedish army. But scarce had Gustavus Adolphus heard of the departure of Pappenheim, when he suddenly broke up his camp near Naumburg, and hastened, with his whole army to attack the enemy, now weakened by one half. He advanced, by rapid marches, towards Weissenfels, from whence the intelligence of his arrival soon spread to the enemy, and was received by the Duke of Friedland with the greatest astonishment. But a speedy resolution was now necessary ; and the measures of Wallenstein were soon taken. Though he had little more than 12,000 men to oppose to the 20,000 of the enemy, he might maintain himself until the return of Pappenheim, who could not have advanced farther than Halle, five miles distant.

Messengers were hastily despatched to recall him, while Wallenstein moved forward into the wide plain between the Canal and Lutzen, where he awaited the King in full order of battle, and, by

this position, cut off his communication with Leipzig and the Saxon auxiliaries.

Three cannon-shots, fired by Count Colleredo from the Castle of Weissenfels, announced the march of the King; and, at this concerted signal, the light troops of the Duke of Friedland, under the command of the Croatian General Isolani, advanced to take possession of the villages lying upon the Rippach. Their weak resistance did not interrupt the advance of the enemy, who crossed the Rippach, near the village of that name, and placed themselves opposite the Imperialists in battle array below Lutzen.

The road that runs from Weissenfels to Leipzig, is intersected between Lutzen and Markranstadt by the canal which extends from Zeitz to Merseburg, and unites the Elster with the Saal. On this canal rested the right wing of the Imperialists, and the left of the King of Sweden; but so that the cavalry of both extended themselves along the opposite side. Wallenstein's right wing was encamped to the northward behind Lutzen, and to the south of that town was posted the left wing of the Swedes; both armies fronted the high road, which run between them, and divided their order of battle; but Wallenstein, to the great disadvantage of his opponent, had, upon the evening before the battle, possessed himself of this high way, deepened the trenches which ran along its sides, and planted them with musketeers, so as to render the passage both difficult and dangerous. Behind these were erected a battery of seven large cannon, to support the fire from the trenches; and at the windmills behind Leipzig,

fourteen smaller field-pieces were ranged on an eminence, from which they could sweep great part of the plain. The infantry, divided only into five unwieldy battalions, was ranged at the distance of 300 paces behind the road, and the cavalry covered the flanks. All the baggage was sent to Leipzig, not to interfere with the movements of the army; and nothing but the ammunition-waggons remained, which were placed in rear of the line. All these arrangements were made during the darkness of the night; and when the morning dawned, every thing was in readiness for the reception of the enemy.

On the evening of the same day, Gustavus Adolphus appeared on the opposite plain, and placed his army in order of battle. His disposition was the same as that by which he had been victorious the year before at Leipzig. Small squadrons of horse were interspersed through the infantry, and troops of musketeers placed here and there among the cavalry. The army was arranged in two lines, the canal on the right and in its rear, the high road in front, and the town of Lutzen on the left. The infantry was placed in the centre, under the command of Count Brahe; the cavalry on the wings; the artillery in front. The command of the German cavalry of the left wing was intrusted to the heroic Bernard, Duke of Weimar, while on the right the King led on the Swedes in person, in order to excite the mutual rivalry of the two nations to deeds of generous emulation. The second line was arranged in the same manner, and behind these was placed a *corps de reserve*, under the command of Henderson, a Scotsman.

In this position they awaited the dawn of mor-

ing, to commence a contest, which the long delay, rather than the importance of its probable consequences, and the selection, rather than the number of the combatants, rendered remarkable and terrible. The expectations of Europe, disappointed before Nuremberg, were now to be fulfilled on the plains of Lutzen. Two generals so equal in importance, in renown, and ability, had not yet been opposed to each other during the whole course of the war. Courage had not yet been startled by so awful a hazard, or hope animated by so glorious a prize. Europe was next day to know who was its greatest general ;—the leader, who had hitherto been invincible, to acknowledge a victor. This morning was to decide whether the victories of Gustavus at Leipzig and on the Lech were owing to his own genius, or the incompetency of his opponent: whether the services of Friedland were to vindicate the Emperor's choice, and to justify the high price at which they had been purchased. The victory was doubtful, but certain the labour and the bloodshed by which it must be earned. Each army knew the enemy to which it was to be opposed ; and the anxiety which each in vain attempted to conceal, afforded a convincing proof of their reciprocal strength.

At last the dreaded morning dawned ; but an impenetrable fog which brooded over the field of battle, delayed the attack till noon. The King, kneeling in front of his army, offered up his devotions ; while the whole army, also on their knees, joined in a moving hymn, accompanied by martial music. The King then mounted his horse, and clad only in a leathern doublet and surtout (for an wound

he had formerly received would not allow him to wear armour), rode along the ranks, to animate the bosoms of the soldiers with a courage and confidence which the foreboding presentiment of his own heart contradicted. "God with us!" was the word on the part of the Swedes; "Jesus Maria!" on that of the Imperialists. About eleven the fog began to clear up, and the enemy became visible. At the same moment Lutzen was discovered in flames, having been set on fire by order of the Duke, to prevent his being outflanked on that side. The charge was sounded; the cavalry rushed against the enemy, and the infantry marched forward against the trenches.

Received by a terrible fire of musketry and heavy artillery, these intrepid battalions maintained the attack, till the enemy's musketeers abandoned their posts, the trenches were passed, the battery carried, and the cannon turned against the enemy. They pressed forward with irresistible impetuosity; the first of the five Imperial brigades was routed, the second thrown into confusion, and the third was already preparing for flight. But here Wallenstein's presence of mind exerted itself. He flew with the rapidity of lightning to the spot, to restore order among the troops; and his powerful word was itself sufficient to stop the flight of the fugitives. Supported by three regiments of cavalry, the vanquished brigades formed anew, faced the enemy, and attacked the broken ranks of the Swedes. A murderous conflict ensued. The nearness of the enemy left no room for fire-arms, the fury of the attack no time for loading; man fought against man; the useless musket was exchanged for the sword and the pike, and art gave

place to the reckless energy of despair. Overpowered by numbers, the wearied Swedes at last retired beyond the trenches; and the battery which they had captured was again lost by their retreat. A thousand mangled bodies already strewn the field, and yet no step of ground had been gained.

Meantime, the King's right wing, led on by himself, had attacked the left of the enemy. The first impetuous shock of the Finland cuirassiers scattered the lightly-mounted Polanders and Croats who were placed upon this wing, and their disorderly flight spread terror and confusion among the rest of the cavalry. At this moment the King received the intelligence that his infantry were retiring across the trenches, and also that his left wing was severely annoyed, and already wavering from the fire of the artillery at the windmills. With rapid decision, he left to General Horn the task of pursuing the vanquished left of the enemy, while he flew, at the head of the regiment of Steinbock, to repair the disorder of his right wing. His horse bore him, with the speed of light, across the trenches, but the passage was more difficult for the squadrons that followed, and only a few horsemen, among whom was Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, were able to keep up with the King. He spurred directly towards the place where his infantry were most closely pressed, and while he gazed around in search of an opening in the enemy's line for attack, his shortness of sight unfortunately led him too close to their ranks. An Imperial Gefreyter, * remarking that every

* Gefreyter, a person exempt from watching duty, nearly corresponding to the corporal.

one respectfully made way for him, immediately ordered a musketeer to take aim at him. "Fire at that man," said he, "that must be a person of distinction." The soldier fired, and the King's left arm was shattered. At that moment his squadrons came hurrying up, and a confused cry of, "The King bleeds! the King is shot!" spread terror and consternation among the troop. "It is nothing—follow me," cried the King, collecting his whole strength; but overcome by pain, and nearly fainting, he requested of the Duke of Lauenburg in French to lead him secretly out of the tumult. While the latter was moving towards the right wing with the King, and making a long circuit to conceal this discouraging sight from the disordered infantry, the King received a second shot through the back, which deprived him of his small remaining strength. "Brother," said he, with a dying voice, "I am gone; look to your own life." At the same moment he sank from his horse; pierced by several shots, and abandoned by all his attendants, he breathed his last amidst the hands of the Croatian plunderers. His charger, flying without its rider, and covered with blood, announced to the Swedish cavalry the fall of their King. They rushed madly forward to rescue his remains from the hands of the enemy. A murderous conflict took place above the corpse, till the inanimate body was covered with a heap of slain.

The dreadful intelligence soon ran through the Swedish army; but instead of dispiriting these brave soldiers, it only excited them to a new, a wilder, and more destructive fury. Life seemed to have lost its value, now that the most sacred

life of all had fled; Death had no terrors, for the lowly since the monarch had fallen beneath his hand. The regiments of Upland, Småland, Finland, East and West Gothland, rushed like lions a second time against the left wing of the enemy, which had offered but a feeble resistance to General Horn, and was now entirely beaten out of the field. Bernard, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, gave to the bereaved Swedes a noble leader in his own person; and the spirit of Gustavus seemed anew to animate his victorious squadrons. The left wing was speedily rallied, and pressed hard against the right of the Imperialists. The artillery at the windmills, which had kept up such a murderous fire against the Swedes, fell into their hands, and its thunders were directed against the enemy. The centre of the Swedish infantry, under the command of Bernard and Knipphausen, advanced a second time against the trenches, which they successfully passed, and a second time they made themselves masters of the battery of seven cannons. The attack was now renewed with redoubled vehemence upon the heavy battalions of the enemy's centre; their resistance gradually became less and less; and chance itself seemed to conspire with the efforts of the Swedes to complete their defeat. The Imperial powder-waggons took fire, and the grenades and bombs were blown with a tremendous explosion into the air. The enemy, now in confusion, thought they were attacked in the rear, while the Swedish brigades pressed them in front. Their courage failed. They saw their left wing defeated, their right on the point of giving way, their artillery in the enemy's hands. The battle seemed to be almost de-

cided ; the fate of the day depended on a single moment ;—and in that moment Pappenheim appeared on the field with his cuirassiers and dragoons ; every advantage was lost, and the battle was begun anew.

The order which recalled that general to Lutzen had reached him in Halle, while his troops were still engaged in plundering that town. It was impossible to collect the scattered infantry with that rapidity which the pressing urgency of the order, and the impatience of Pappenheim himself required. Without waiting for them, therefore, he ordered eight regiments of cavalry to mount, and at their head he advanced at full gallop to Lutzen, to share in the battle. He arrived just in time to witness the flight of the Imperial right wing before Gustavus Horn, and to find himself at first involved in their rout. But with rapid presence of mind, he rallied the fugitives, and led them anew against the enemy. Carried away by his impetuous bravery, and impatient to encounter the King, whom he expected to find at the head of this wing, he burst furiously into the Swedish ranks, which, exhausted by the victory they had already obtained, and inferior in numbers, were overpowered by this new host of enemies, after a noble resistance. The unexpected appearance of Pappenheim reanimated the expiring courage of the Imperialists, and the Duke of Friedland rapidly availed himself of this favourable moment to form his line again. The close-ranged battalions of the Swedes were, after a tremendous conflict, again repulsed across the trenches, and the battery, which had been twice captured, rescued from their hands. The whole yellow regi-

ment, the finest of all which distinguished themselves in this dreadful day, lay dead upon the spot, covering the field almost in the same order, which they had so nobly maintained while alive. Another regiment, in blue, shared the same fate, which Count Piccolomini attacked with the Imperial cavalry and overcame after a desperate contest. Seven times did this intrepid general renew the attack ; seven horses were shot under him, and he himself was pierced with six musket-balls. Yet he would not leave the field, until compelled by the general retreat of the whole army. Wallenstein himself was seen riding through his ranks with cool intrepidity, amidst a shower of balls, assisting the distressed, animating the brave by his example, and intimidating the wavering by his frown. His men were falling thick around him, and his own mantle was pierced by several balls. But destiny this day protected that breast, for which another weapon was reserved ; on the same field where the noble Gustavus expired, Wallenstein was not to terminate his guilty career.

Less fortunate was Pappenheim, the Telamon of the army, the bravest soldier of the church, and of the house of Austria. An ardent desire to encounter the King, carried this daring leader into the thickest of the fight, where he thought he was most likely to find his noble opponent. Gustavus had also expressed his wish to meet his brave antagonist, but these hostile desires remained ungratified ; the heroes, for the first time, met in death. Two musket-balls pierced the heart of Pappenheim ; and he was forcibly carried, by his soldiers, out of the field. While they were engaged in conveying him to the rear, a murmur

reached his ear, that he whom he had sought, lay dead upon the plain. When assured of the truth of this intelligence, his look became brighter, his dying eye sparkled with a gleam of joy. "Tell the Duke of Friedland," said he; "that I am mortally wounded, but that I die happy, since I know that the implacable enemy of my faith has fallen on the same day."

With Pappenheim vanished the good fortune of the Imperialists. No sooner did the cavalry of the right wing, already beaten, and only rallied by his exertions, miss their victorious leader, than they gave up every thing for lost, and abandoned the field of battle in despair. The right wing fell into similar confusion, with the exception of a few regiments, which the bravery of their Colonels Gotz, Terzky, Colleredo, and Piccolomini, compelled to keep their ground. The Swedish infantry, with great promptitude, availed themselves of the enemy's confusion. To fill up the gaps which death had made in these ranks, they formed both lines into one, and made a last decisive charge. A third time they crossed the trenches, and a third time they captured the artillery behind them. The sun was setting when the hostile lines met. The battle seemed to grow more desperate as it drew towards its close; the last efforts of strength were mutually exerted, and daring and address did their utmost to repair in these last precious minutes the fortune of the day. It was in vain; despair seemed to animate each party with superhuman strength; neither could conquer, neither would give way. The art of war seemed to exhaust its powers in one point, only to unfold some new and untried masterpiece of skill in another. Night and dark-

ness at last put a period to the battle, which the fury of the combatants would willingly have prolonged ; and the contest ceased, only because each could no longer find his antagonists. Both armies separated, as if by tacit agreement ; the trumpets sounded, and each party claiming the victory quitted the field.

The artillery on both sides being left by the horses, remained all night upon the field ; at once the reward and the evidence of victory to him who should maintain it. But Wallenstein, in his haste to leave Leipzig and Saxony, forgot to remove his from the field. Not long after the battle was ended, Pappenheim's infantry, who had been unable to follow the rapid movements of their general, and who amounted to six regiments, appeared on the field ; but the work was over. A few hours earlier, so considerable a reinforcement would probably have decided the day in favour of the Imperialists ; and, even now by taking possession of the field of battle, they might have saved the Duke's artillery, and captured that of the Swedes. But they had received no orders to act ; and, uncertain as to the issue of the battle, they retired to Leipzig, where they expected to find the main army.

The Duke of Friedland had retreated thither, and was followed the next day by the scattered remains of his army, without artillery, without colours, and almost without arms. The Duke of Weimar, it appears, allowed the Swedish army some repose after the toils of this bloody day, between Lutzen and Weissenfels, near enough to the field of battle, to frustrate any attempt of the enemy to take possession of it. More than 9000

men of both armies lay dead upon the field; the number of the wounded was much greater, and among the Imperialists scarcely a man escaped uninjured from the field. The whole plain from Lutzen to the Canal was covered with the wounded, the dead, and the dying. Many of the principal nobility had fallen on both sides. Even the Abbot of Fulda, who had mingled in the combat as a spectator, paid for his curiosity and his ill-timed zeal with his life. History is silent as to prisoners; an additional proof of the fury of the combatants, who neither gave nor took quarter.

Pappenheim died of his wounds the next day at Leipzig; an irreparable loss to the Imperial army, which this consummate general had so often led on to conquest. The battle of Prague, at which he was present as colonel, along with Wallenstein, was the commencement of his heroic career. Though dangerously wounded, he impetuously attacked a hostile regiment, and lay for several hours blended with the dead upon the field, beneath the weight of his horse, till discovered by his own soldiers in plundering. With a small force he vanquished the rebels in Upper Austria, amounting to 4000 men, in three different battles. At the battle of Leipzig, he for a long time delayed the defeat of Tilly by his bravery, and rendered the arms of the Emperor victorious on the Elbe and the Rhine. The wild and impetuous fire of his temperament, which no danger however dreadful could dismay, and which led him almost to attempt impossibilities, rendered him the most formidable arm of the Imperial force, but unfitted him for acting at its head. The loss of the battle of Leipzig, if Tilly may be believed, was owing

to his rashness at its commencement. He also stained his hands in blood, at the destruction of Magdeburg ; his disposition, which had been improved by youthful application, and various travels, had been darkened and rendered savage by the ferocity of war. On his forehead two red streaks were perceptible like swords, with which nature had marked him at his birth. These marks became visible at a more advanced age, as often as he was inflamed by passion ; and superstition easily persuaded itself that the future destiny of the man was thus marked upon the forehead of the child. Such a servant had the strongest claims to the gratitude of both the Austrian houses, but he did not live to receive the most brilliant mark of their regard. The messenger was already on his way to him from Madrid with the order of the Golden Fleece, when death overtook him at Leipzig.

Though *Te Deum* was sung in honour of the victory in all the Spanish and Austrian dominions, Wallenstein himself, by the rapidity with which he left Leipzig, and soon after the whole of Saxony, and by abandoning his intention of taking up his winter-quarters in that country, openly confessed his defeat. It is true he made a feeble attempt, even in his flight, to dispute the palm of victory, by sending out his Croats next morning to the field ; but the sight of the Swedish army which stood in battle array, immediately dispersed these flying bands, and Duke Bernard, by keeping possession of the field, and soon after by the capture of Leipzig, retained the undisputed right to the title of victor.

But the triumph was a melancholy one, the victory dearly bought ! Now first when the fury

of conflict was over, was felt the full weight of the loss they had sustained, and the shout of triumph died away into the gloomy and mournful tone of despair. He who had led them forth to the fight, returned not with them : He lay upon that field which he had gained, amidst the dead bodies of the common crowd. After a long, and for a time ineffectual search, the corpse of the King was discovered, not far from the great stone, which, for a hundred years before, had stood between Lutzen and the Canal, and which, from the memorable disaster of that day, still bears the name of the Stone of the Swede. Covered with blood and wounds so as to be scarcely recognised, trampled beneath the hoofs of the cavalry, deprived of its ornaments and clothes by the rude hands of the plunderers, his body was drawn from beneath a heap of dead, conveyed to Weissenfels, and there delivered up to the lamentations of the army, and the last embraces of his queen. The first tribute was paid to vengeance, and blood had atoned for the blood of the monarch ; the next was due to affection, and tears of grief were now shed for the man. Individual griefs were lost in the universal lamentation. The generals, still paralysed by the unexpected blow, stood speechless and motionless around his bier, and shrunk from contemplating the full extent of the calamity that had befallen them.

The Emperor, we are informed by Khevenhuller, displayed signs of deep, and apparently sincere emotion, at the sight of the King's doublet covered with blood, which had been taken from him during the battle, and conveyed to Vienna. " Willingly," said he, " would I have granted to the unfortunate prince a longer life,

and a safe return to his kingdom, had Germany been at peace." But when a more modern Catholic writer, of acknowledged merit, considers this proof of a lingering trace of human feeling in the character of Ferdinand, (a feeling which would have been called forth by a regard for appearances alone, which mere self-love would have extorted from the most insensible, and the absence of which could exist only in the most inhuman heart), as worthy of the highest eulogium, and compares it with the magnanimity of Alexander, in regard to the memory of Darius, it excites our distrust as to the other virtues of his hero, and what is still worse, in his own ideas of moral dignity. But even such an eulogium is much for one, whom his biographer finds it necessary to exculpate from the suspicion of being concerned in the assassination of a King.

It was scarcely to be expected that the strong leaning of mankind to the marvellous, would admit that the fate of Gustavus Adolphus took place in the common course of nature. The death of this formidable rival was an event of too great importance for the Emperor, not to excite in the opposite party the suspicion, that what was so favourable to his interests, had been also the result of his instigation. But for the execution of this dark deed, the Emperor required the assistance of a foreign arm; and it was generally believed that Francis, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, was the instrument he had employed. The rank of the latter permitted him a free and unsuspected access to the King, while it at the same time seemed to place him above the suspicion of such a crime. It

now requires, however, to be shown that this prince was capable of this atrocity, and that he had any sufficient motives for its commission.

Francis Albert, the youngest of four sons of Frances II., Duke of Lauenburg, and related by the mother's side, to the race of Vasa, had, in his early years, been hospitably received at the Swedish court. Some impropriety, of which he had been guilty in the Queen's chamber against Gustavus Adolphus, it is said was repaid by this fiery youth with a box on the ear; which though repented of at the time, and most satisfactorily atoned for, laid the foundation of an irreconcilable enmity in the avengeful disposition of the Duke. Francis Albert subsequently entered the Imperial service, where he obtained the command of a regiment, entered into the closest intimacy with Wallenstein, and allowed himself to be made the instrument of a secret negotiation at the Saxon Court, which did little honour to his rank. Without assigning any sufficient cause, he suddenly left the Austrian service, and appeared in the King's camp at Nuremberg, to offer his services as a volunteer. By his zeal for the Protestant cause, and a prepossessing and flattering deportment, he gained the heart of the King, who, in spite of the warnings of Oxenstiern, continued to lavish his favour and friendship on this suspicious new comer. The battle of Lutzen soon followed, in which it was observed, that Francis Albert, like an evil genius, never left the King's side till he fell. His safety amidst the fire of the enemy might be accounted for by the green sash which he wore, the colour of the Imperialists. He was the first who conveyed to Wallenstein the intelli-

gence of the King's death. After the battle he exchanged the Swedish service for the Saxon ; and being accused, after the murder of Wallenstein, of being an accomplice of that general, he escaped the sword of justice only by abjuring his faith. He finally appeared as commander of an Imperial army in Silesia, and died at last of the wounds he had received before Schweidnitz. It requires some effort to acquit a man, who had run through a career like this, of the act charged against him ; but though it is thus evident that the crime might, both morally and physically, have been committed by him, it is equally evident that there are no grounds for imputing to him, with any certainty, its actual execution. Gustavus Adolphus, it is well known, exposed himself to danger, like the meanest soldier in his army, and where thousands fell, his death was not extraordinary. How he met his fate, is still buried in mystery ; but in a case like this, the maxim is peculiarly applicable, that where the ordinary course of things is fully sufficient to account for the fact, the dignity of human nature ought not to be sullied, by admitting the suspicion of so atrocious a crime.

But by whatever hand he fell, this extraordinary destiny must appear to us a great interposition of Providence. History, so often engaged in the ungrateful task of analyzing the uniform course of human passions, is sometimes gratified by the appearance of events, which strike like a band from heaven, into the calculated machinery of human affairs ; and recall to the contemplative mind the idea of a higher order of things. Such appears to us the sudden vanishing of Gustavus Adolphus from

the scene ;—stopping for a time the whole movement of the political machine, and frustrating all the calculations of human prudence. But yesterday, the animating spirit, the great, the sole mover of his own creation ; to-day, levelled with the dust in the midst of his towering flight ; untimely torn from the world of enterprise, and from the unripened harvest of his hopes, he left his party inconsolable ; and the proud edifice of his past greatness sunk into ruins. With difficulty could the Protestant party wean themselves from those hopes which they had identified with their great leader ; their good fortune they now feared was buried with him. But perhaps it was no longer the benefactor of Germany who fell at Lutzen : the beneficent part of his career Gustavus Adolphus had already terminated ; and now the greatest service which he could render to the liberties of Germany was—to die. The all-engrossing power of an individual was at an end ; but in his room many stepped forward to exercise their strength ; the suspicious assistance of a too powerful protector gave place to more noble self-exertion ; and those who were formerly the mere instruments of his aggrandizement, now began to labour for themselves. They now sought for these resources in their own resolution, which they could not receive without danger from so powerful a hand ; and the Swedish power, no longer capable of acting the oppressor, was henceforth confined to the more modest part of an ally.

The ambition of the Swedish monarch unquestionably aimed at the establishment of a power within Germany, which was inconsistent with the liberties of the States, and at the attainment of a

permanent hold in the centre of the empire. His ultimate object was the possession of the Imperial crown ; and this dignity, supported by his power, and rendered effective by his energy and activity, was capable of being more abused than it had been even in the hands of the House of Austria. Born in a foreign country, educated in the maxims of arbitrary power, and in principle a determined enemy to Popery, he was ill fitted to preserve inviolable the constitution of the German States, or to maintain their liberties. The coercive homage which Augsburg, as well as several of her cities, was obliged to pay to the Swedish crown, betrayed the conqueror more than the protector of the empire ; and this town, prouder of the title of a royal city, than of the higher dignity of a free town of the empire, flattered itself with the hope of becoming the capital of his intended kingdom. His open attempts upon the Electorate of Mentz, which he first intended to bestow upon the Elector of Brandenburg, as the dower of his daughter Christina, and afterwards destined for his chancellor and friend Oxenstiern, plainly showed what liberties he was disposed to take with the constitution of the empire. The Protestant princes, his confederates, had claims on his gratitude, which could be satisfied only at the expense of their Catholic neighbours, and particularly of the immediate Ecclesiastical Chapters ; and perhaps a plan was already formed for dividing the conquered provinces (in the manner of those barbarian hordes who overran the German empire), as a common spoil, among his German and Swedish confederates. In his conduct towards

the Elector Palatine, he entirely belied the magnanimity of the hero, and forgot the sacred duty of the Protector. The Palatinate was in his hands, and justice and honour equally required of him, fully and immediately to restore this province, which he had rescued from the Spaniards, to its legitimate sovereign. But, by a subtlety unworthy of a great mind, and disgraceful to the noble character of protector of the oppressed, he eluded that obligation. He treated the Palatinate as a conquest he had made from the enemy, and thought that this circumstance gave him a right to deal with it as he pleased. He surrendered it to the Elector as a favour, not as a debt ; and that too as a Swedish fief, fettered by conditions which diminished half its value, and sunk this unfortunate Prince into a despicable dependent of Sweden. One of these conditions to which the Elector was obliged to subscribe was, that, after the conclusion of the war, he should be bound, along with the other princes, to furnish his contribution for maintaining part of the Swedish army ;—a condition which plainly shows the fate which awaited Germany in the event of the ultimate success of the King. His sudden disappearance secured the liberties of Germany, and saved his own reputation ; while it probably spared him the mortification of seeing his own allies in arms against him, and all the fruits of his victories lost by a disadvantageous peace. Saxony was already disposed to abandon him, Denmark regarded his greatness with uneasiness and jealousy ; and even France, his most powerful ally, terrified at the rapid growth of his greatness and the imperious

tone which he assumed, looked around her, from the moment he past the Lech, for foreign alliances, by whose assistance she might check the progress of the Goths, and restore the balance of power in Europe.

HISTORY
OF THE
THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

BOOK IV.

THE weak bond of unity, created by Gustavus Adolphus among the Protestant members of the empire, was dissolved by his death; the allies would now be again left at liberty, or their alliance must be formed anew. By the first step they lost all the advantages they had obtained at the expense of so much bloodshed, and exposed themselves to the inevitable danger of becoming the prey of an enemy, whom they had opposed and overmastered only by their union. Neither Sweden nor any of the States of the empire were individually able to cope with the Emperor and the League; and, by attempting a peace at present, they would necessarily be obliged to receive laws from the enemy. Union was therefore

equally indispensable, either for concluding a peace or continuing the war. But any peace obtained under the present circumstances must be a disadvantageous one to the allied powers. The death of Gustavus Adolphus inspired the enemy with new hopes ; and, however unfavourable the situation of his affairs after the battle of Leipzig, the death of his dreaded rival was an event too disastrous to the confederates, and too favourable for the Emperor, not to justify the most brilliant expectations on his part, and to encourage him to the prosecution of the war. A temporary division among the allies must be its necessary consequence, and what advantages might not the Emperor and the League derive from such a division ? He could not be expected to sacrifice the prospects held out to him by the present situation of affairs for any peace, except one highly advantageous to himself ; and such a peace the allies were equally unwilling to enter into. They naturally resolved, therefore, to continue the war, and the maintenance of their union was acknowledged to be indispensable for that purpose.

But how was this union to be renewed ? and whence were the resources for continuing the war to be derived ? It was not the power of Sweden, but the genius and personal influence of its deceased sovereign, which had given him so overwhelming an influence in Germany, so universal a command over the dispositions of men ; and after all, he had only succeeded with the greatest difficulty in establishing a weak and insecure bond of unity among the states. With his death vanished all, which his personal influence alone had rendered

practicable ; and the unity of the States ceased with the hopes on which it had been founded. Several of them impatiently threw off the yoke which had always been irksome to them ; others hastened to take possession of that authority which they had unwillingly seen in the hands of Gustavus, but of which, during his lifetime, they did not dare to deprive him. Some were tempted by the seductive promises of the Emperor to abandon the alliance ; others wearied out by the calamities of a fourteen years' war, longed for the repose of peace, upon any terms, however ruinous. The generals of the army, partly German princes, acknowledged no common head, and none would submit to receive orders from the other. Unity vanished alike from the cabinet and the field, and their common existence was threatened with ruin, by the spirit of division among its members.

Gustavus had left no male heir to the crown of Sweden : his daughter Christina, then six years old, was the natural heir. The unavoidable defects of a regency, were ill suited to the display of that energy and resolution which Sweden was called upon to exert in this trying conjuncture. The wide reaching mind of Gustavus Adolphus had raised this unimportant and hitherto unknown kingdom to a rank among the states of Europe, which it could not maintain without the good fortune and talents of its great head, nor resign without a shameful confession of its weakness. Though the German war had been principally maintained from the resources of Germany, yet even the small contribution of men and money which Sweden furnished from its own means, was sufficient to ex-

haust the finances of that poor kingdom, and the peasantry were oppressed by the impositions necessarily laid upon them. The plunder gained in Germany enriched only some individuals among the nobles and the soldiers, while Sweden itself remained poor as before. For a time the national vanity of the subject rendered these burdens supportable, and the sums exacted from them might be considered as a loan placed at interest in the fortunate hand of Gustavus Adolphus, to be richly repaid by the grateful monarch after the conclusion of a glorious peace. But this hope vanished with the King's death, and the deluded people now loudly demanded relief from their burdens.

But the spirit of Gustavus Adolphus still lived in the men to whom he had intrusted the administration of the kingdom. However dreadful the intelligence of his death was to them, it did not deprive them of their resolution ; and the spirit of ancient Rome, under the invasion of Brennius and Hannibal, animated this noble assembly. The Swedish Council of State, compelled to choose between the miseries of a doubtful and exhausting war, and a profitable but disgraceful peace, nobly espoused the side of danger and of honour ; and this venerable Senate was seen, with astonishment, to act with all the energy and enthusiasm of youth. Surrounded with watchful enemies, both within and without, and threatened with dangers on every side, they armed themselves against them all with equal prudence and heroism, and laboured to extend their kingdom, even at the moment when they were called on to struggle for its existence.

The decease of the King, and the minority of his daughter Christina, renewed the claims of Po-

land on the Swedish throne ; and King Ladislaus, the son of Sigismund, spared no intrigues to form a party in that kingdom. On this ground the regency lost no time in acknowledging the young Queen of six years old as their sovereign, and arranging the administration of the kingdom. All the officers of the kingdom were summoned to do homage to their new Princess ;—all correspondence with Poland prohibited, and the edict of the late monarch against the heirs of Sigismund solemnly confirmed. The alliance with the Czar of Muscovy was carefully renewed, in order, by the assistance of his arms, to keep Poland in check. The death of Gustavus Adolphus had put an end to the jealousy of Denmark, and removed the grounds which had impeded the good understanding of these two States. The efforts of the enemy to stir up Christian IV. against Sweden were no longer countenanced ; and the strong wish entertained by him to match his son Ulrick with the young Princess, combined, with the dictates of a sounder policy, to incline him to a neutrality. England, Holland, and France came forward with the most favourable assurances of their continued friendship and support to the regency, and encouraged them with one voice to prosecute with activity the war which they had hitherto conducted so nobly. Whatever cause France might have to congratulate itself on the death of the Swedish conqueror, it was fully aware of the necessity of maintaining the alliance with Sweden. It could not allow the power of Sweden to sink in Germany, without imminent danger to itself. Destitute of resources of its own, Sweden would either be driven to conclude a hasty and disadvantageous peace with Aus-

tria, and thus all those efforts which had been made to lower the ascendancy of this dangerous power would be in vain ; or necessity and despair would compel them to extort the means of support from the territories of the Catholic States, and France would then be regarded as the betrayer of those States who had placed themselves under her powerful protection. The death of Gustavus, far from dissolving the alliance between France and Sweden, had only rendered it more necessary for both, and more profitable for France. It was now for the first time, since the death of him who had stretched his protecting arm over Germany, and guarded his frontiers against the encroachments of France, that the latter could securely prosecute its designs against Alsace, and thus be enabled to sell its aid at a dearer rate to the German Protestants.

Strengthened by these alliances, secured in its interior, and defended by strong frontier garrisons and fleets from without, the Regency did not for an instant hesitate to continue a war by which Sweden had little of its own to lose, while, if success attended its arms, some of the German provinces, either as a conquest, or indemnification of its expences, might reward its perseverance. Secure amidst its seas, Sweden was scarcely exposed to greater danger, even if driven out of Germany, than if it voluntarily retired from the contest, while the former measure was as honourable as the latter was disgraceful.

The more consistency they displayed, the more confidence they inspired among their confederates, the more respect among their enemies, the more favourable conditions they might antici-

pate, in the event of a peace. If they were too weak to execute the comprehensive projects of Gustavus, they at least owed it to his example to do their utmost, and to yield to nothing short of absolute necessity. It is to be regretted that self-interest had too great a share in this noble resolve, to allow us to bestow upon it our unqualified admiration. It was easy for those who had nothing themselves to suffer, from the miseries of war, but were rather enriched by it, to resolve upon its continuation ; for it was the German empire that finally defrayed the expenses of the war ; and the provinces, on the future possession of which they calculated would be cheaply purchased at the expense of the few troops they furnished, the generals who were placed at the head of armies principally German, and the honourable superintendence both of the military and political operations of the war.

But this superintendence was irreconcilable with the distance of the Swedish Regency from the seat of war, and with the tediousness inseparable from the forms of the Council.

A single comprehensive mind must be intrusted with the task of managing the interests of Sweden and Germany, -and with the superintendence of war and peace, with the necessary alliances and the requisite levies. This important magistrate must be invested with dictatorial power, and with the whole influence of the crown which he represented, in order to maintain its dignity, to reduce to unity the common operations, to give effect to his orders, and to supply the place of the monarch whom he succeeded. Such a man was found in the Chancellor Oxenstiern, the

first minister, and it may be added, the friend of the deceased King, who, acquainted with all the secrets of his master, versed in the politics of Germany, and in the relations of all the states of Europe, was unquestionably the man best qualified to prosecute the plans of Gustavus Adolphus, to their full extent.

Oxenstiern was engaged in a journey to Upper Germany, in order to assemble the four Upper Circles, when the news of the King's death reached him at Hanau. This blow which pierced the afflicted heart of the friend, deprived the statesman of all self-possession, every thing to which he was attached seemed taken from him. Sweden had lost but a king, Germany a protector, but Oxenstiern had been deprived of the author of his good fortune, the friend of his soul, the object of his admiration. But while he was thus the deepest sufferer in the common calamity, he was also the first whose energy enabled him to rise above the blow, as he was the only one who was able to repair its consequences. His penetration and glance foresaw all the obstacles which opposed the execution of his plans, the discouragement of the States, the intrigues of hostile courts, the defection of confederates, the jealousy of the leaders, and the aversion of the princes of the empire to submit to foreign authority. But this profound examination of the existing state of circumstances, while it discovered to him the whole extent of the evil, showed him also the means by which it might be remedied. He had now to reanimate the sinking courage of the weaker states, to oppose the secret machinations of the enemy, to appease the jealousy of the more powerful allies, to excite the friendly

powers, and France in particular, to active assistance, but above all, to repair the ruined edifice of the German confederacy, and reunite the scattered strength of the party by a close and permanent bond of union. The confusion into which the German Protestants were thrown by the loss of their head, might as readily dispose them to a closer alliance with Sweden, as to a hasty peace with the Emperor ; and it seemed entirely to depend upon the course he might pursue, which of these alternatives they would embrace. Every thing was lost by the smallest display of apprehension, nothing but the confidence which Sweden showed in herself could excite a similar self-confidence among the Germans. All the attempts of the Austrian Court to alienate these princes from the Swedish alliance would be fruitless, if he could open their eyes to their true advantage, and instigate them to an open and formal breach with the Emperor.

It is true that, before these measures could be taken, and the necessary arrangements made between the Regency and their minister, a precious opportunity of activity was lost to the Swedes, of which the enemy did not fail to avail themselves to the utmost. It was in the power of the Emperor, had he followed the prudent councils of the Duke of Friedland, to have at once ruined the affairs of Sweden in Germany. Wallenstein advised him to offer an unqualified amnesty, and to meet the Protestant States with favourable conditions. In the first alarm, which the fall of Gustavus Adolphus created in that party, such a declaration would have produced the strongest effects, and would have probably brought back the pliant

and wavering States to their allegiance to the Emperor. But dazzled by this unexpected good fortune, and deluded by Spanish counsels, he anticipated a more brilliant issue by means of arms, and, instead of listening to proposals of accommodation, he hastened to increase his strength. Spain, enriched by the grant of the tenth of the Ecclesiastical possessions, to which the Pope consented, supported him with considerable supplies, negotiated for him at the Saxon Court, and levied troops for him in Italy to be employed in Germany. The Elector of Bavaria also considerably increased his military force; and the restless disposition of the Duke of Lorraine, did not permit him to remain inactive amidst this favourable change of fortune. But while the enemy were thus labouring to profit by the disaster of Sweden, Oxenstierna spared no effort to avert its most fatal consequences.

Less apprehensive of his open enemies than of the jealousy of the friendly powers, he left Upper Germany, which he had secured by the conquests he had made, and the alliances he had formed, and set out in person to prevent a total defection of the Lower German States, or a private alliance among themselves, which would have been almost equally pernicious to Sweden. Irritated at the boldness with which the Chancellor assumed the direction of affairs, and exasperated at the thought of being dictated to by a Swedish nobleman, the Elector of Saxony again meditated a dangerous separation from Sweden; and the only question seemed to be, whether he would completely unite with the Emperor, or place himself at the head of the Protestants and form a third party in Germany. Similar views were entertained by Duke Ulric of

Brunswick, who openly expressed them by prohibiting the Swedes from recruiting within his dominions, and inviting the Lower Saxon States to Luneburg for the purpose of forming a mutual confederacy. The Elector of Brandenburg alone, jealous of the influence which Saxony was likely to attain in Lower Germany, manifested any zeal for the interests of the Swedish throne, which he already in thought destined for his son. Oxenstiern no doubt received the most honourable reception at the court of John George, but empty promises of continued friendship were all which, notwithstanding the personal efforts of the Elector of Brandenburg, he was able to obtain. He was more successful with the Duke of Brunswick, with whom he ventured to adopt a bolder tone. Sweden was at that time in possession of the Archbishoprick of Magdeburg, the Bishop of which had the power of assembling the Lower Saxon Circle. The Chancellor now maintained the rights of the crown, and by this well-timed and spirited interference, prevented for the present this dangerous assembly. He failed, however, both now and for ever, in establishing that general confederacy of the Protestants, which was the main object of his present journey, and of his future endeavours, and was obliged to content himself with some unsteady alliances in the Saxon Circles, and with the weaker assistance of Upper Germany.

As the Bavarians were too powerful on the Danube, the assembly of the four Upper Circles which should have taken place at Ulm, was removed to Heilbronn, where the Deputies of more than twelve cities of the empire, with

a brilliant crowd of doctors, counts, and princes, were present. The ambassadors of foreign powers too, France, England, and Holland, attended this Congress, at which Oxenstiern appeared in person, with all the pomp of the throne of which he was the representative. He himself opened the proceedings, and took the lead in the deliberations. After receiving from all the assembled States assurances of unshaken fidelity, perseverance, and unity, he required of them solemnly and formally to declare the Emperor and the League as enemies. But important as it was for Sweden to widen the breach between the Emperor and the States into an open rupture, the States were, on the other hand, equally unwilling to exclude every chance of reconciliation, by so decisive a step, and to place themselves entirely in the hands of the Swedes. They maintained, that as the act would speak for itself, any formal declaration of war was unnecessary and superfluous, and the firmness of their resistance at last silenced the Chancellor. Warmer disputes arose with regard to the third and most important point of the treaty, which concerned the means of prosecuting the war, and the contributions to be furnished by the States for the support of the army. Oxenstiern's maxim, of throwing as much of the burden as possible on the States, was not easily reconcilable with the resolution of the States to give as little as possible. The Chancellor now experienced what thirty Emperors had found before him, to their cost, that of all difficult undertakings, the hardest of all is to extort money from the Germans. Instead of granting the necessary sums for the new armies, they expatiated upon the calamities which had befallen the former, and de-

manded relief from their former burdens, instead of submitting to new. The irritation caused among the States, by the Chancellor's demand for money, gave rise to a thousand difficulties ; and the outrages of the troops, in their marches and quarterings, were dwelt upon with a startling minuteness and truth.

Oxenstiern, in the service of two absolute monarchs, had learned too little of the formality and caution of republican proceedings, to bear with patience the opposition he received. Ready to act the instant he perceived the necessity of action, and inflexible in his resolution, when it was once formed, he could not comprehend the inconsistency of men, who, while they eagerly desired the end, were so averse to the means. Naturally prompt and impetuous, he was so on this occasion from principle ; for every thing depended on concealing the weakness of Sweden, by a firm and confident tone, and obtaining a *real* command over the assembly, by affecting to possess it. It was not surprising, therefore, if he found himself out of his sphere, amidst these interminable discussions with German doctors and deputies, and was almost driven to despair, by the inconstancy and irresolution which distinguish the character of the Germans in their public deliberations. Without regard to a custom, to which even the most powerful of the Emperors had been obliged to conform, he rejected all written deliberations, which suited so well with the tediousness of their character. He could not conceive how ten days could be spent in debating a measure, which he thought might be decided upon the bare statement of it. Harshly, however, as he treat-

ed the States, he found them sufficiently complaisant in granting his fourth motion, which concerned himself. When he pointed out the necessity of giving to the newly constituted League a head and a director, that honour was unanimously assigned to Sweden, while he was submissively requested to give to the common cause the benefit of his intelligence, and to take upon himself the burden of superintendence. But to prevent the abuse of the powers thus intrusted to him, a number of assistants were appointed to him (not without the influence of French councils), who were to manage the expenditure of the confederacy, and to be consulted as to the levies, marches, and quarterings of the troops. Oxenstiern strenuously resisted this limitation of his power, by which he was trammelled in the execution of every enterprise requiring promptitude or secrecy, and at last with difficulty succeeded in obtaining the uncontrolled management in affairs of war. The Chancellor finally approached the delicate point of the indemnification which Sweden expected from the gratitude of the Allies after the conclusion of the war; and flattered himself that Pomerania, the main object of Sweden, would be assigned to her, and that he would obtain from the provinces assurances of their effectual support in its acquisition. But all he could obtain was a general and vague assurance that the interests of all parties would be attended to in a general peace. That it was not mere regard for the constitution of the empire which rendered the States so cautious on this point, was evident from their liberality towards the Chancellor, at the ex-

pense of the free cities of the empire. They were on the point of bestowing upon him the archbishopric of Mentz (which he had already in his possession as a conquest), and it was with difficulty that the French ambassador succeeded in preventing a step, which was equally impolitic and disgraceful. But however inadequate the result of the Congress had been to the expectations of Oxenstiern, he had at least gained for himself and his crown his main object, namely, the direction of the whole confederacy had strengthened the bond of union between the four Upper Circles, and obtained from the States a yearly contribution of two millions and a half of dollars, for the maintenance of the army.

These concessions on the part of the States, deserved a requital on that of Sweden. A few weeks after the death of Gustavus Adolphus, the unfortunate Elector Palatine ended his days of a broken heart, after following, for eight months, the train of his protector, and expending in it the small remainder of his patrimony. He seemed, at last, to be approaching the goal of his wishes, and the prospect of a brighter future was opening to him, when death deprived him of his protector. But what he regarded as the greatest calamity, was productive of the most favourable consequences to his heirs. Gustavus might take it upon himself to delay the restoration of his dominions, or to burden the gift by oppressive conditions; but Oxenstiern, to whom the friendship of England, Holland, and Brandenburg, and the good opinion of the reformed States was of indispensable importance, was under the necessity of immediately fulfilling the obligations of justice. He therefore, at

this assembly, at Heilbronn, surrendered the whole Palatinate, both the part already conquered, and that which remained to be conquered, to the successors of the Palatine, with the exception of Mannheim, the possession of which the Swedes were to retain until indemnified for their expenses. The Chancellor did not confine his liberality to the Palatine family alone; the other allied princes received proofs, though at a later period, of the gratitude of Sweden, which that crown bestowed at so little expense to itself.

The duty of impartiality, the most sacred obligation of the historian, here compels us to a confession not very honourable to the champions of German liberty. However sincerely convinced of the justice of their cause, and the purity of their zeal, the Protestant princes might be, the motives from which they acted were in truth sufficiently selfish; and the desire of making new acquisitions had at least as great a share in the commencement of hostilities, as the fear of being deprived of their own possessions. Gustavus soon discovered, that much greater advantages might be derived from these selfish motives than from their patriotic zeal, and did not fail to avail himself of them. Each of his confederates received from him the assurance of some possession, either already extorted, or to be afterwards taken from the enemy; and death alone prevented him from fulfilling his promise. The course which prudence had suggested to the King, necessity now prescribed to his successor. If he was disposed to continue the war, it must be done by dividing the spoil among the allied princes, and promising them some advantage from the continuation of that confusion which it was his object

to cherish. Thus he promised to the Landgrave of Hesse, the abbacies of Paderborn, Corvey, Munster, and Fulda ; to Duke Bernard of Weimar, the Franconian Bishoprics ; to the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Ecclesiastical property and Austrian counties, lying within his territories, all under the title of fiefs of Sweden. The Chancellor himself was astonished at this spectacle, so strange and so disgraceful to the German character, and could scarcely conceal his contempt. " Let it be writ in our annals," he once exclaimed, " that a German Prince made this request of a Swedish Nobleman, and that the Swedish Nobleman granted it to the German upon German ground."

After these successful preparations, he was now in a condition to take the field and resume the war with vigour. Soon after the victory of Lutzen, the troops of Saxony and Lunenburg united with the Swedish leader ; and the Imperialists were, in a short time, expelled from the whole of Saxony. The Saxons marched towards Lusatia and Silesia, to act in conjunction with Count Thurn against the Austrians, in that quarter ; a part of the Swedish army was led by the Duke of Weimar into Franconia, and the other by George Duke of Brunswick, into Westphalia and Lower Saxony.

The conquests on the Lech and the Danube had been defended by the Palatine of Birkenfeld, and the Swedish General Banner, against the Bavarians, while Gustavus himself was engaged in his expedition into Saxony. But too weak to make head against the victorious progress of the Bavarians, supported as they were by the bravery and military experience of the Imperial General Altringer,

they were under the necessity of summoning the Swedish General Horn to their assistance from Alsace. This experienced general having subdued Benfeld, Schlettstadt, Colmar, and Hagenuau, committed the defence of these towns to the Rhinegrave Otto Louis, and hastened over the Rhine to form a junction with Banner's army. But although this force now amounted to 16,000 men, they could not prevent the enemy from obtaining a firm footing on the Swabian frontier, taking Kempten, and receiving a reinforcement of seven regiments from Bohemia. In order to defend the important positions of the banks of the Lech and the Danube, they were under the necessity of stripping Alsace, when the Rhinegrave Otto Louis found it difficult, after the departure of Horn, to defend himself against the exasperated peasantry. He also, with his army, was now required to reinforce the army on the Danube; and as even this addition was insufficient, Duke Bernard of Weimar was earnestly pressed to turn his arms into this quarter.

Bernard, soon after the opening of the campaign of 1633, had made himself master of the town, and the whole territory of Bamberg, and was meditating similar designs against Wurtzburg. But on receiving the summons of General Horn, he set out without delay on his march towards the Danube, routed on his course a Bavarian army under John de Werth, and joined the Swedes near Donauwerth. This numerous force, commanded by these consummate generals, now threatened Bavaria with a formidable inroad. The whole bishopric of Eichstadt was overrun, and Ingolstadt was on the point of

being delivered up by treachery to the Swedes. Altringer's movements were fettered by the express order of the Duke of Friedland ; and left without assistance from Bohemia, he was unable to make head against the advance of the enemy. A combination of circumstances concurred to favour the Swedish arms in this quarter, where the activity of the army was at once stopped by a mutiny among the officers.

All the conquests hitherto made in Germany had been effected by arms ; the greatness of Gustavus himself was the work of the army, the fruit of their discipline, their bravery, their perseverance under danger and difficulty. However artfully his plans might be arranged in the cabinet, it was to the army he was finally indebted for their execution ; and the extent of their task increased with the extension of his views. The great success of the war had been violently obtained by a barbarous sacrifice and exposure of the soldiers in winter campaigns, marches, assaults, and pitched battles ; for it was Gustavus's maxim never to hesitate about a conquest, provided it cost him nothing but men. The soldier could not long be blind to his own importance, and he justly demanded a share in that spoil which had been purchased by his own labour and his own bloodshed. Yet he frequently could hardly obtain his actual pay ; and the greater part of the sums raised by contributions, or from conquered provinces, were swallowed up by the rapacity of individuals, or the wants of the state. The soldier had no other recompense for the toils he underwent, than the doubtful prospect either of plunder or promotion, in both of which he was frequently disappointed. The com-

bined influence of fear and hope had suppressed any open complaint during the lifetime of Gustavus Adolphus, but after his death the general discontent was loudly expressed, and the soldiery availed themselves of a most dangerous moment to convince their superiors of their importance. Two officers, Pfuhl and Mitschefal, well known as restless characters during the King's life, set the example in the camp on the Danube, and in a few days were imitated by almost all the officers of the army. They entered into a solemn engagement, to obey no orders till these arrears, now extending to months, and even to years, were paid up, and a proportional gratuity, either in money or lands, made to each. "Immense sums," they said, "were daily raised by contributions, and all dissipated by a few hands. They were called out to serve in snow and ice, and not even paid for this endless labour. The excesses of the soldiers had been blamed at Heilbronn, but no one talked of their services. The world rung with the tidings of conquests and victories, and all these were the work of their hands."

The number of the malcontents daily increased; and they now attempted, by means of letters which were fortunately intercepted, to stir up the armies on the Rhine, and in Saxony. Neither the remonstrances of Bernard of Weimar, nor the severe reproaches of his harsher associate Horn, could suppress this mutiny, while the vehemence of the latter seemed only to increase the insolence of the insurgents. They insisted that certain towns should be delivered over to each regiment, as a security for payment of their arrears. A delay of four weeks was granted to the Swedish Chancellor, to enable him

to comply with these demands; and in case of refusal, they announced that they would pay themselves, and never more draw a sword for Sweden.

This bold demand, made at a time when the military chest was exhausted, and credit at a low ebb, placed the Chancellor in the greatest embarrassment; he saw too the immediate necessity of applying a remedy before the contagion should extend to the other troops, and he should be deserted by all his armies at once. Among all the Swedish generals, there was only one possessed of sufficient authority and influence with the soldiers to heal the breach. Duke Bernard, was the favourite of the army, and his prudence and moderation had conciliated the good-will of the soldiers, as his military experience had excited their admiration. He now undertook the task of appeasing the discontented troops; but aware of his own importance, he embraced this favourable opportunity of first stipulating for himself, and rendering the present embarrassment of the Chancellor subservient to his own views.

Gustavus Adolphus had flattered him with the promise of the Dutchy of Franconia, which was to be formed out of the Bishoprics of Wurtzburg and Bamberg, and he now insisted on the fulfilment of this promise. He at the same time demanded the supreme command in war, as Generalissimo of Sweden. The abuse which the Duke of Weimar thus made of his own importance, so irritated Oxenstiern, that, in the first heat of his resentment, he thought of dismissing him from the Swedish service. But on more mature reflection, he determined, instead of sacrificing so important a leader, to attach him to the Swedish interests at

any price. He therefore granted to him the Franconian Bishoprics, as a fief of the Swedish crown, with the exception of the two fortresses of Wurtzburg and Königshofen, which were to remain in possession of the Swedes ; and at the same time engaged, in name of the Swedish crown, to maintain the Duke in possession of these territories. The supreme command over the Swedish army, which he had demanded, was evaded on some specious pretext. The Duke did not long delay to display his gratitude for this important acquisition ; his influence and activity soon restored tranquillity in the army. Large sums of money, and still more extensive estates, were divided among the officers, amounting in value to about five millions of dollars, and to which they had no other right but that of conquest. But in the mean time, the opportunity for a great undertaking had gone by, and the united leaders separated to oppose the enemy in other quarters.

Gustavus Adolphus, after his short inroad into the Upper Palatinate, and the capture of Neumark, had directed his march towards the Swabian frontier, where the Imperialists had been strongly reinforced, and were threatening Wirtemberg with a destructive invasion. Alarmed at his approach, they had retired to the Lake of Boden, but they were immediately followed by the Swedes into this quarter, which had hitherto been unvisited by war. A possession at the entrance of Switzerland, was of the greatest importance to the Swedes, and the town of Kostnitz, seemed peculiarly well fitted to be a point of communication between him and his confederate. Gustavus Horn undertook to besiege it ; but destitute of artillery, which he

was obliged to bring from Wintemberg, he was unable to prosecute the siege with sufficient vigour, to prevent the enemy from throwing supplies into the town, which was easily accomplished from the lake. He therefore abandoned the town and its neighbourhood, after an ineffectual attempt, and hastened to meet a more pressing necessity upon the Danube.

At the Emperor's instigation, the Cardinal Infant, the brother of Philip IV. of Spain, and Viceroy of Milan, had raised an army of 14,000 men, intended to act upon the Rhine, independently of Wallenstein's orders, and to protect Alsace. This army now appeared under the command of the Duke of Feria, a Spaniard, in Bavaria; and, that they might be immediately employed against the Swedes, Altringer, with his corps, received orders to join them. On the first news of their appearance, Gustavus Horn had summoned the Palatine of Birkenfeld from the Rhine to his assistance; and, uniting with him at Stockach, boldly advanced to meet the enemy's army of 30,000 men.

The latter had taken the route across the Danube into Swabia, where Gustavus Horn approached so close, that the two armies were only separated from each other by half a mile.* But, instead of accepting the offer of battle, the Imperialists moved by the Forest towns towards Breislau and Alsace, where they arrived in time to relieve Breysack, and to arrest the victorious progress of the Rhinegrave Otto Louis. The latter had, shortly before, taken the Forest towns, and, supported by the Palatine of Birkenfeld, who had

* i. e. German.

liberated the Lower Palatinate, and driven the Duke of Lorraine out of the field, had once more given the preponderance to the Swedish arms in that quarter. He was now compelled to give way to the superiority of the enemy, but Horn and Birkenfeld soon advanced to his assistance; and the Imperialists, after this brief success, were again expelled from Alsace. The severity of the autumn, which they encountered in their retreat, proved fatal to most of the Italians; and their leader, the Duke of Feria, himself died of grief at the failure of his expedition.

In the mean time, Duke Bernard of Weimar, with eighteen regiments of infantry, and 140 squadrons of horse, had taken up his position on the Danube, to cover Franconia, and at the same time to watch the motions of the Imperial-Bavarian army upon this river. No sooner had Altringer stripped this quarter of its defenders, to join the Italian army of the Duke of Feria, than Bernard availed himself of his retreat, hastened across the Danube, and, with the rapidity of lightning, appeared before Ratisbon. The possession of this town would be decisive in favour of the designs of Sweden against Bavaria and Austria; it would secure them a firm footing on the Danube, and a sure refuge in case of defeat; while it alone enabled them to give permanence to their conquests in that quarter. To defend Ratisbon, was the dying advice of Tilly to the Elector; and Gustavus Adolphus lamented it as an irreparable loss, that the Bavarians had anticipated him in taking possession of this place. The terror of Maximilian was therefore indescribable, when Duke Ber-

nard suddenly appeared before the town, and prepared in earnest to besiege it.

The garrison consisted only of 15 companies, principally newly raised troops ; but that number was more than sufficient to weary out an enemy of far superior force, if supported by well inclined and warlike inhabitants. But these were the most dangerous enemies with which the Bavarian garrison had to contend. The Protestant inhabitants of Ratisbon, equally jealous of their faith and their freedom, had unwillingly submitted to the yoke of Bavaria, and had long awaited with impatience the appearance of their deliverer. Bernard's arrival before the walls filled them with the liveliest joy ; and it was much to be feared that they would support the attempts of the besiegers, by exciting an internal tumult. In this state of embarrassment, the Elector addressed the most pressing entreaties to the Emperor and the Duke of Friedland to assist him, were it only with 5000 men. Seven different messengers did Ferdinand despatch to Wallenstein, who promised immediate assistance, and actually apprised the Elector of the march of 12,000 men under Gallas ; but at the same time forbade that General, under pain of death, to set out. Meantime the Bavarian commandant of Ratisbon, in expectation of immediate relief, made every preparation for defence, armed the Catholic inhabitants, disarmed and carefully watched the Protestant citizens, so as to prevent their attempting any hostile design against the garrison. But when no relief appeared, and the enemy's artillery continued to storm the walls with unabated vehemence, he consulted his own safety and that of the garrison by an honourable capitula-

lation, and abandoned the Bavarian officers and ecclesiastics to the conqueror's mercy.

By the possession of Ratisbon the projects of the Duke expanded, and Bavaria itself now appeared too narrow a limit for his comprehensive views. He now intended to penetrate to the frontiers of Austria, to arm the Protestant peasantry against the Emperor, and restore to them their religious liberty. He had already taken Straubingen, while another Swedish general subjected the places on the banks of the Danube. At the head of his Swedes, bidding defiance to the severity of the weather, he reached the mouth of the Iser, and transported his troops before the eyes of the Bavarian General Werth, who was encamped on that river. Passau and Lintz now trembled for their fate; the terrified Emperor reiterated his requests and commands to Wallenstein, to hasten to the assistance of the hard-pressed Bavarians. But here the victorious Bernard voluntarily bounded his conquests. Having the Inn in front, which was guarded by several strong fortresses, and behind him two hostile armies, a disaffected country and the river Iser, while his rear was covered by no tenable position, and the severity of the frost permitted no entrenchments to be formed; and, threatened by the whole force of Wallenstein, who had at last resolved to march to the Danube, he made a timely retreat in order to prevent his being cut off from Ratisbon, and surrounded by the enemy. He hastened across the Iser to the Danube, to defend the conquests he had made in the Upper Palatinate against Wallenstein, and determined not to decline a battle, if necessary,

with that General. But Wallenstein, who had never contemplated any extraordinary activity on the Danube, did not wait for his approach ; and the Bavarians had hardly time to congratulate themselves on his arrival, when he suddenly turned aside into Bohemia. The Duke thus ended his victorious campaign, and allowed his troops their well-earned repose in winter-quarters in the enemy's country.

While Gustavus Horn conducted the war with such success in Swabia, the Palatine of Birkenfeld, Generals Baudissen and the Rhinegrave Otto Louis on the Upper and Lower Rhine, and Duke Bernard on the Danube ; the reputation of the Swedish arms was not less nobly maintained in Lower Saxony and Westphalia by the Duke of Lunenburg and the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The fortress of Hamel was taken by Duke George after a brave defence, and a brilliant victory obtained over the Imperial General Gronsfeld, by the united Swedish and Hessian armies near Oldendorf. Count Wasaburg, a natural son of Gustavus Adolphus, showed himself in this battle worthy of his origin. Sixteen cannon, the whole baggage of the Imperialists, and 74 colours, fell into the hands of the Swedes ; 3000 of the enemy fell on the spot, and nearly the same number were taken prisoners. The town of Osnaburg was taken by the Swedish Colonel Knyphausen, and Paderborn by the Landgrave of Hesse ; while, on the other hand, Bückeburg, a place of considerable importance for the Swedes, fell into the hands of the Imperialists. The Swedish banners were seen victorious in almost every quarter of Germany ; and, in the course of a year, not a trace

was visible of the loss which had been sustained in the fall of this great leader.

In reviewing the important events of the campaign of 1633, we are justly astonished at the inactivity of a man, of whom by far the highest expectations had been formed. Among all the generals who distinguished themselves in the course of this campaign, there was none who could be compared with Wallenstein, in experience, talents, and reputation : and yet, from the battle of Lutzen, down to the close of this campaign, we lose sight of him. The fall of his great rival now left the whole theatre of fame open to him ; the attention of all Europe was now exclusively directed to those exploits, which were to efface the remembrance of his defeat, and to prove to the world his military superiority. Yet he remained inactive in Bohemia, while the losses sustained by the Emperor in Bavaria, Lower Saxony, and the Rhine, pressingly demanded his presence ; equally incomprehensible by friend and foe, the terror, and yet the last hope of the Emperor. He had hastened, with unaccountable rapidity, after the defeat of Lutzen, into the kingdom of Bohemia, where he instituted the strictest inquiry into the conduct of his officers in that battle. Those who were found guilty by the council of war, were put to death without mercy ; such as had conducted themselves with bravery rewarded with princely munificence ; and the memory of the dead honoured by splendid monuments. But he continued, during the winter, to oppress the Imperial provinces by enormous contributions, and to exhaust the strength of the Austrian territories by his winter-quarters, which he purposely avoided taking up in an enemy's

country. Instead of being the first to take the field, with this well-chosen and well-appointed army, at the opening of the campaign of 1633, and to display his talents in all their strength, he was the last who appeared in the field ; and even then, it was a hereditary province of Austria which he selected as the seat of war.

Among all the Austrian provinces, Silesia was exposed to the greatest danger. Three different armies, a Swedish army under Count Thurn, a Saxon, under Arnheim and the Duke of Lauenburg, and one of Brandenburg under Bergsdorf, had at the same time carried the war into this country ; they had already taken possession of the most important towns, and Breslau itself had embraced the cause of the allies. But it was precisely this crowd of generals and armies that saved this province to the Emperor ; for the jealousy of the generals, and the mutual dislike of the Saxons and the Swedes, never allowed them to act with unanimity. Arnheim and Thurn contended for the command ; the troops of Brandenburg and Saxony combined against the Swedes, whom they looked upon as burdensome strangers, who were to be got rid of as soon as possible. The Saxons, on the contrary, lived on a far more familiar footing with the Imperialists, and the officers of both these hostile armies frequently visited and entertained each other. The Imperialists were allowed to remove their property without opposition, and many did not affect to conceal that they had received large sums from Vienna. Among such equivocal allies, the Swedes saw themselves sold and betrayed ; and no enterprise of importance could be undertaken, while so bad an understand-

ing subsisted between them. General Arnheim too, was also absent the greater part of the time; and when he at last made his appearance among the army, Wallenstein was already approaching the frontiers with a formidable force.

His army amounted to 40,000 men, while the allies had only 24,000 to oppose to him. They nevertheless resolved to give him battle, and appeared before Munsterberg, where he had formed an intrenched camp. But Wallenstein remained motionless for eight days; he then left his camp, and marched with a proud and pompous composure towards the enemy. Even after leaving his intrenchments, however, and when the enemy manfully prepared to receive him, he did not avail himself of the opportunity of fighting. This extreme caution in avoiding a battle was imputed to fear; but this suspicion the well-established reputation of Wallenstein enabled him to despise. The vanity of the allies, did not allow them to perceive, that he purposely saved them a defeat, merely because a victory of them would, at that time, have been of no service to himself. But to convince them of his power, and that his inactivity proceeded from no fear of their force, he put to death the commander of a castle that fell into his hands, because he had refused at once to surrender an untenable place.

Both armies remained for nine days within musket-shot of each other, when Count Terzky, from the camp of the Imperialists, appeared with a trumpeter in that of the allies, to invite General Arnheim to a conference. The purport was, that Wallenstein, notwithstanding his superiority, pro-

posed a cessation of arms for six weeks. "He was come," he said, "to conclude a lasting peace with the Swedes, and with the princes of the empire, to pay the soldiers, and to procure them every satisfaction. All this was in his power; and if the Count hesitated to confirm his proposals, he would unite with the allies, and (as he privately whispered to Arnheim) hunt the Emperor to the devil." At the second conference, he expressed himself still more plainly to Count Thurn. "All the privileges of the Bohemians," he engaged, "should be confirmed, the exiles recalled and reinstated in their possessions, and he himself would be the first to resign his share of them. The Jesuits, and all the authors of past grievances, should be banished, the Swedes indemnified by stated payments, and all the superfluous troops on both sides employed against the Turks." The conclusion explained the whole mystery. "That if he should obtain the Crown of Bohemia, all the exiles would have reason to congratulate themselves on his generosity, complete toleration should be established within the kingdom, the Palatine House be restored to its rights, and he would accept the Margraviate of Moravia as a compensation for Mecklenburg. The allied armies would then, under his command, advance upon Vienna, and compel the Emperor to ratify this treaty sword in hand."

Thus was the plan disclosed at last, over which he had brooded for years in mysterious silence. Every circumstance now convinced him that not a moment was to be lost in putting it into execution. Nothing but a blind confidence in the genius and success of the Duke of Friedland had de-

terminated the Emperor, in the face of the remonstrances of Bavaria and Spain, to commit to this imperious leader so unlimited an authority. But this belief in Wallenstein's being invincible had been long shaken by his inaction, and almost entirely destroyed by the defeat at Lutzen. His rivals at the Imperial Court now renewed their intrigues ; and the Emperor's disappointment at the failure of his hopes procured for their remonstrances a favourable reception with that monarch. The whole conduct of the Duke was now reviewed with the most malicious criticism ; his haughtiness and presumption ; his disobedience to the Emperor's orders, were recalled to the recollection of that jealous prince ; the complaints of the Austrian subjects against his boundless oppression recapitulated ; his fidelity questioned, and alarming hints thrown out as to his secret views. These complaints, which the conduct of the Duke was but too well calculated so justify, did not fail to make a deep impression on Ferdinand's mind ; but the step had been taken, and the power with which he had invested Wallenstein could not be wrested from him without danger. To diminish that power insensibly was the only course that now remained to him ; and, in order to effect this, it must in the first place be divided, and that dependence on the good will of his general, to which he was now subjected, put an end to. But even this right had been abandoned by his contract with Wallenstein, and the Emperor's own handwriting protected him against every attempt to unite another general with him in the command, or to exercise any immediate influence over the troops. As this disadvantageous compact could neither be exactly kept nor o-

penly broken, the Emperor was obliged to have recourse to stratagem. Wallenstein was Imperial Generalissimo in Germany, but his power extended no farther; and he could exercise no authority over a foreign army. A Spanish army was accordingly raised in Milan, and marched into Germany under a Spanish general. Wallenstein now ceased to be indispensable, because he ceased to be alone; in case of necessity, the Emperor was now provided with the means of support against him.

The Duke rapidly and deeply felt whence this blow came, and whither it was directed. In vain did he protest against this illegal innovation, to the Cardinal Infant; the Italian army continued its march, and he was obliged to detach General Altringer to join it with a reinforcement. He took care, indeed, to fetter the latter by such strong injunctions as to prevent the Italian army from acquiring any great reputation in Alsace and Swabia; but this bold step of the Court roused him from his security, and warned him of the coming danger. That he might not a second time lose his command, and with it the fruit of all his labours, he must hasten forward the execution of his enterprise. By removing the suspicious officers, and by his liberality to the rest, he secured the attachment of his troops. Every other order in the State, every duty of justice and humanity, he had sacrificed to the prosperity of the army, and therefore he reckoned upon their gratitude. At the very moment when he meditated an unexampled act of ingratitude against the author of his own good fortune, he founded his whole hopes upon the gratitude which was to be shown to himself.

The leaders of the Silesian armies had no power from their principals to accede, in their own names, to the important proposals of Wallenstein; and even the cessation of hostilities which he demanded, they would only agree to for a fortnight. Before the Duke disclosed his views to Sweden and Saxony, he had deemed it advisable to secure the support of France in his bold undertaking. For this purpose a secret negotiation had been carried on between Count Kinsky and the French ambassador Feuquieres at Dresden, though with the greatest possible caution and distrust, which had terminated according to his wishes. Feuquieres received orders from his Court to promise every aid on the part of France, and to offer the Duke a considerable pecuniary advance in case of need.

But it was this excessive caution to secure himself on all sides that was the cause of his ruin. The French ambassador, discovered with the greatest astonishment, that a plan, which more than any other required secrecy, had been communicated to the Swedes and the Saxons. The Saxon ministry, as was generally known, was in the interests of the Emperor, and the conditions offered to the Swedes fell too far short of their expectations to be likely to be accepted. Feuquieres, therefore, could not believe that the Duke could be serious in calculating upon the aid of the former, and the silence of the latter. He discovered his doubts and anxieties to the Swedish Chancellor, who equally distrusted the views of Wallenstein and disliked his plans. Although it was no secret to Oxenstiern that the Duke had made similar proposals before to Gustavus Adolphus, he could not conceive the possibility of inducing a whole army to revolt, and of fulfilling

his extravagant promises. A design so daring, and a conduct so imprudent, seemed inconsistent with the reserved and suspicious temper of the Duke; and he was the more inclined to consider the whole as the result of dissimulation and treachery, because he had more reason to doubt his honesty than his prudence.

Oxenstiern's doubts at last affected Arnheim himself, who, in full confidence in Wallenstein's sincerity, had repaired to the Chancellor at Gelnhausen, to induce him to lend some of his best regiments to the Duke for the execution of the plan. They began to suspect that the whole proposal was only an artful snare to disarm the allies, and to deliver the flower of their army into the hands of the Emperor. Wallenstein's well known character sanctioned the suspicion, and the inconsistencies in which he afterwards involved himself, entirely destroyed their confidence in his sincerity. While he was endeavouring to draw the Swedes into this alliance, and requiring the assistance of their best troops, he declared to Arnheim that they must begin with expelling the Swedes from the empire; and while the Saxon officers, relying upon the security of the truce, repaired to him in great numbers, he made an unsuccessful attempt to seize their persons. He was the first to break the truce, which he had much difficulty in renewing some months afterwards. All faith in his sincerity was at an end; his whole conduct was regarded as a mere tissue of deceit and low cunning, in order to weaken the allies and repair his own strength. This indeed he actually effected, as his own army daily augmented, while that of the allies was reduced nearly one half by desertion and bad living.

But he did not avail himself of his superiority as was expected in Vienna. When a decisive blow was expected he suddenly revived the negotiations, and when the truce lulled the allies into security, he as suddenly renewed hostilities. All these contradictions proceeded from the complicated and irreconcilable projects of ruining at once the Emperor and the Swedes, and concluding a separate peace with the Saxons.

Impatient at the bad success of his negotiations, he resolved at last to display his strength; the more so, as the pressing distress within the empire, and the increasing discontent at the Imperial court admitted of no longer delay. Before the last cessation of hostilities, General Holk from Bohemia had fallen upon the territory of Meissen, laid waste every thing upon his route with fire and sword, driven the Elector into his fortresses, and taken the town of Leipzig. But the truce in Bohemia put a period to his ravages, and the consequences of his excesses brought him, at Adorf, to his grave. No sooner was the truce at an end, than Wallenstein made a movement as if to penetrate through Lusatia into Saxony, and circulated the report that Piccolomini had already invaded that country. Arnheim immediately left his camp in Silesia to follow him, and hasten to the assistance of the Electorate. By this means the Swedes were left exposed, who were encamped in small force under Count Thurn at Steinau on the Oder, and this was exactly the object which Wallenstein had in view. He allowed the Saxon general to march sixteen miles into the territory of Meissen, and then suddenly turning towards the Oder, surprised the Swedish army in the most complete

security. Their cavalry were first beaten by General Schafgotsch, who was sent against them, and the infantry completely surrounded at Steinau by the army of the Duke which followed. Wallenstein gave Count Thurn half an hour to deliberate whether he would defend himself with 2500 men, against more than 20,000, or surrender at discretion. But under such circumstances there was no room for deliberation. The whole army surrendered, and the most complete victory was obtained without a drop of bloodshed. Colours, baggage, and artillery all fell into the hands of the victors, the officers were taken into custody, the privates incorporated with the army of Wallenstein. And now at last, after fourteen years banishment, after numberless changes of fortune, the author of the Bohemian insurrection, the remote origin of this destructive war, the notorious Count Thurn, was in the power of his enemies. The arrival of this great criminal was expected with blood-thirsty impatience in Vienna, where they already anticipated the terrible triumph of sacrificing this distinguished victim to public justice. But it was a still sweeter triumph to Wallenstein to deprive the Jesuits of this pleasure, and Thurn was set at liberty. Fortunately for him, he knew more than it would have been prudent to divulge in Vienna, and his enemies were also those of Wallenstein. A defeat might have been forgiven in Vienna, but this disappointment of their hopes they could not pardon. "What should I have done with this madman?" he writes with a malicious sneer to the minister who called him to account for this ill-timed display of magnanimity. "Would to Heaven the enemy had many generals such as he. At the head of

the Swedish army he will be of more service to us than in prison."

The victory of Steinau was shortly followed by the taking of Leignitz, Grossglogau, and even of Frankfort on the Oder. Schafgotsch, who remained behind in Silesia to complete the subjection of that province, blockaded Brieg, and pressed Breslau, though in vain, as that free town was jealous of its privileges, and devoted to the Swedes. Colonels Illo and Goetz were despatched by Wallenstein to the Warta, to penetrate into Pomerania, and to the coasts of the Baltic, and actually obtained possession of Landsberg, the key of Pomerania. While the Elector of Brandenburg and the Duke of Pomerania thus trembled for their dominions, Wallenstein himself, with the remainder of his army, burst suddenly into Lusatia, where he took Goerlitz by storm, and compelled Bautzen to surrender. But his object was only to terrify the Elector of Saxony, not to prosecute the advantages he had obtained; and therefore, even with the sword in his hand, he continued his negotiations for peace with Brandenburg and Saxony, but with no better success, having now forfeited all confidence by the inconsistencies of his conduct. He was now on the point of turning his whole force in earnest against the unfortunate Saxons, and effecting his object by force of arms, when circumstances compelled him to leave that quarter. The conquests of Duke Bernard upon the Danube, which threatened Austria itself with immediate danger, pressingly called him into Bavaria, and the expulsion of the Saxons and Swedes from Silesia, deprived him of every pretext

for longer resisting the Imperial orders, and leaving the Elector of Bavaria without assistance. He therefore marched with the main army towards the Upper Palatinate, and his retreat delivered Upper Saxony for ever from this formidable enemy.

He had delayed as long as he could the deliverance of Bavaria, and evaded on every possible pretext the commands of the Emperor. He had indeed, after repeated entreaties despatched to Count Altringer, who was endeavouring to defend the Lech and the Danube against Horn and Bernard, a reinforcement of some regiments from Bohemia, but under the express condition of acting merely on the defensive. He referred the Emperor and the Elector, whenever they applied to him for aid, to Altringer, who, as he gave out, had received from him an unlimited power to act; he secretly, however, tied up his hands by the severest injunctions, and even threatened him with death if he exceeded his orders. When Duke Bernard appeared before Ratisbon, and the Emperor as well as the Elector reiterated more pressingly their requests for assistance, he pretended he was about to despatch General Gallas with a considerable army to the Danube; but this too was neglected, and Ratisbon, Saubingen, and Cham, as well as the bishopric of Eichstadt, fell into the hands of the Swedes. When at last he could no longer delay complying with the orders of the Court, he marched as slowly as possible toward the Bavarian frontier, where he invested the town of Cham, which had been taken by the Swedes. But no sooner did he learn that the Swedes were contemplating a division in Bohemia, by way of Saxony, than he availed himself of the report, as a pretext

for immediately retreating into Bohemia, without effecting any thing in that quarter. Every thing, he pretended, must give way to the defence and preservation of the hereditary dominions of the Emperor; and therefore he remained firmly fixed in Bohemia, which he guarded as if it had been his own property. The Emperor still more pressing-ly reiterated his orders to him to march towards the Danube, to prevent the Duke of Weimar from establishing himself in this dangerous position on the frontiers of Austria. Wallenstein, however, thought proper to conclude the campaign for this year, and again allowed his troops to take up their winter-quarters in this exhausted kingdom.

This continued insolence and unexampled contempt of the Imperial orders, and this obvious neglect of the common cause, joined to his equivocal conduct towards the enemy, must at last have convinced the Emperor of the truth of those unfavourable reports with regard to the Duke's views, which were current through Germany. He had for a long time succeeded in giving a colour to his criminal correspondence with the enemy, and persuading the Emperor, who was still inclined to favour him, that the sole object of his secret conferences was to procure a peace for Germany. But impenetrable as he believed his proceedings to be, there was enough in the whole of his conduct to justify the accusations with which his rivals incessantly assailed the ear of the Emperor. In order to investigate the truth or falsehood of these rumours, Ferdinand had at various times sent spies into Wallenstein's camp; but as the Duke took the precaution to commit nothing to writing, they returned with nothing but conjectures. But when,

at last, the minister himself, his former champion at the Court (on whose estates Wallenstein had executed his system of oppression as well as on the rest), joined his enemies ; when the Elector of Bavaria threatened, in case of his further delays, to unite with the Swedes ; when the Spanish ambassador insisted on his dismissal, and threatened, in case of refusal, to withdraw the subsidies furnished by his Crown, the Emperor found himself a second time compelled to remove him from his command.

The vigorous and immediate interference of the Emperor with the army soon convinced the Duke that he considered the compact with him as at an end, and that his dismissal was inevitable. One of his inferior generals in Austria, whom he had forbidden, under pain of death, to obey the orders of the Court, received the commands of the Emperor himself to join the Elector of Bavaria ; and Wallenstein himself was imperiously ordered to despatch a reinforcement of some regiments to join the Cardinal Infant, who was on his march with an army from Italy. All these preparations convinced him that a plan was finally arranged for disarming him by degrees, and thus ruining him at once, when he had been rendered weak and defenceless.

It was now necessary, in self-defence, to carry into execution those plans which he had formerly contemplated only with the view of his aggrandizement. He had delayed too long, either because the favourable constellations had not appeared ; or, as he used to say to his friends when reproving their impatience, because the time was not yet come. Even now, the time was not come ; but the pressure of circumstances no longer al-

lowed him to await the starry hour. The first step was to assure himself of the sentiments of the principal leaders, and then to try the attachment of the army, which he had so liberally courted. Three of these leaders, Colonels Kinsky, Terzky, and Illo, had long been in his secrets, and the two first were united to his interests by the ties of relationship. Equal ambition, equal hatred to the government, and the hope of enormous rewards, bound them in the closest manner to Wallenstein, who did not scruple to employ the lowest means, in order to increase the number of his adherents. He had once advised Colonel Illo to solicit the title of Count in Vienna, and had promised him the most effectual support in his application. But he secretly wrote to the minister to refuse his request, as it would occasion similar claims from others, whose services and claims were equal to his. When Illo returned to the army, his first question to him was with regard to the success of his mission; and when Illo acquainted him with its failure, he broke out into the bitterest complaints against the Court. "Thus," said he, "are our faithful services rewarded, my recommendation disregarded, and your merit denied so small a recompense! Who would longer dedicate his services to so ungrateful a master? No, for my part, I am henceforth the determined foe of Austria." Illo coincided with him, and a close alliance was cemented between them.

But the secret which was known to these three confederates, was long an impenetrable mystery to the rest; and the confidence which Wallenstein reposed in the devotion of his officers, was

founded merely on the benefits he had conferred upon them, and their discontent with the Court. But this vague surmise must be converted into certainty before he could throw aside the mask, or venture any open step against the Emperor. Count Piccolomini, who had distinguished himself by his unparalleled bravery at Lutzen, was the first whose fidelity he put to the trial. He had attached this General to him by large presents, and preferred him to his comrades, because he was born under the same constellations with himself. He disclosed to him, that, impelled by the Emperor's ingratitude, and the near approach of his own danger, he had determined entirely to abandon the party of Austria, to join the enemy with the best part of his army, and to maintain the war against the House of Austria, on all sides of its dominions, till he had extirpated it by the roots. He had principally calculated on the assistance of Piccolomini in the execution of this plan, and had promised him beforehand the greatest rewards. When the latter, in order to conceal his consternation at this sudden proposal, spoke of the dangers and obstacles which opposed the design, Wallenstein ridiculed his fears. "In such enterprises," he maintained, "nothing was difficult but the commencement. The stars were propitious to him, the opportunity the best that could be wished for, and something must always be trusted to fortune. His resolution was taken, and, if it could not be otherwise, he would try the hazard at the head of a thousand horse." Piccolomini took care not to excite the suspicions of Wallenstein by too long an opposition, and yielded with apparent conviction to the force

of his reasoning. Such was the infatuation of the Duke, that, in spite of the warnings of Count Terzky, he never thought of doubting the sincerity of this man, who lost not a moment in communicating to the Court at Vienna the important discovery he had made.

Preparatory to taking the important step, he, in January 1634, summoned all the commanders of the army to Pilsen, whither he had marched after his retreat from Bavaria. The latest orders of the Emperor, to spare his hereditary dominions in his winter-quarterings, to recover Ratisbon in the midst of winter, and to diminish the army, by a detachment of six thousand horse, to the assistance of the Cardinal Infant, were sufficiently important to justify their being laid before the assembled Council of War ; and this plausible pretext served to conceal the real purpose of the assembly. Sweden and Saxony received invitations to be present, in order to treat with the Duke of Friedland for a peace ; a written correspondence was to be resorted to with the leaders of more distant armies. Twenty of the commanders thus summoned appeared ; but those whose presence was most important, Gallas, Colloredo and Altringer, were absent. The Duke reiterated his summons to them, while he continued, in expectation of their speedy arrival, the prosecution of his designs.

It was no light enterprise in which he was about to embark ; in thus avowing that a nobleman, proud, brave, and jealous of his honour, could be capable of the most shameful treachery ; and appearing at once, in the eyes of those who had been accustomed to behold in him the glittering

image of the throne, the judge of their actions, and the supporter of the laws, as a traitor and a rebel. It was no easy task to shake from its foundations a legitimate sovereignty, fortified by time, and consecrated by religion and the laws, to dissolve the charm of the senses and the imagination, the formidable guardians of an established throne, and forcibly to uproot those invincible feelings of duty, which plead so loudly and so powerfully in the breast of the subject in favour of his sovereign. But, dazzled by the splendour of a crown, Wallenstein observed not the precipice that yawned beneath his feet; and, too fully confident in his own strength, he, as is often the case with strong and daring minds, shut his eyes to the magnitude and the number of the difficulties that opposed him. Wallenstein saw nothing but an army, partly indifferent, and partly exasperated, against the court; an army accustomed to yield a blind submission to his overruling will, to tremble before him as their legislator and judge, and to receive his orders with awful reverence, as the mandates of fate. In the extravagant flatteries which his omnipotence received, in the bold abuse of the court in which a licentious soldiery indulged, and which the wild license of the camp rendered excusable, he thought he read the real sentiments of the army; and the boldness with which the monarch's measures were censured, convinced him of their readiness to renounce their allegiance to a sovereign so little respected. But that which he had so much underrated, proved to be the most formidable obstacle with which he had to contend; those feelings of duty on the part of the troops, ~~were~~ the rock on which his hopes were shattered.

Misled by the extensive influence he possessed over these lawless bands, he ascribed the whole to his own personal greatness, without distinguishing how much he owed to himself, and how much to the dignity with which he was invested. All trembled before him while he exercised a legitimate authority, while obedience to him was a duty, and while his consequence was supported by the majesty of the throne. Greatness, however exercised, may excite wonder and terror ; but legal greatness alone can extort reverence and submission : and of this decisive advantage he deprived himself, the instant he avowed himself a traitor.

Field-Marshal Illo undertook to learn the sentiments of the commanders, and to prepare them for the step which was expected of them. He began by laying before them the new orders of the court to the general and the army ; and by the obnoxious turn he gave to them, he had little difficulty in exciting the indignation of the assembly. After this well chosen introduction, he expatiated with much eloquence upon the services of the army and the general, and the ingratitude with which they had been usually requited by the Emperor. " Every measure at court," he maintained, " was the result of Spanish influence ; the ministry were in the pay of Spain ; the Duke of Friedland alone had hitherto opposed this tyranny, and had thus drawn down upon himself the deadly enmity of the Spaniards. To remove him from the command, or to make away with him entirely, he continued, had long been the object of their most zealous efforts ; and, until they should succeed in one or other, they endeavoured to abridge

his power in the field. For no other reason had the command been placed in the hands of the King of Hungary, but that this prince, as the ready instrument of foreign counsels, might be led about at pleasure, the better to promote the Spanish power in Germany. It was with no other view than that of weakening the army, that the six thousand troops were required for the Cardinal Infant; it was merely for the purpose of harassing it by a winter campaign, that they were now called on to undertake the recovery of Ratisbon. Every means of subsistence was rendered difficult to the army, while the Jesuits and the ministry enriched themselves with the labours of the provinces, and wasted the money intended for the troops. The general must confess his inability to keep his engagements to the army, when thus abandoned by the Court. For all the services which, for two and twenty years, he had rendered to Austria; for all the difficulties with which he had struggled; for all the treasures of his own which he had wasted in the Imperial service, he was to be requited by a disgraceful dismissal. But he was resolved the matter should not come to this; he was determined voluntarily to resign the command before it should be wrested from his hands; and this was the object of his present communication to the officers. It was now for them to inquire, whether it were advisable for them to lose such a general. It was now time for them to consider who was to refund to them the sums they had expended in the Emperor's service; who was now to secure to them the reward of their bravery, when he, before whose eyes it was exerted, had vanished from the scene."

A general cry that they would not allow their general to leave them, interrupted the speaker. Four of the principal officers were deputed to lay before him the wish of the assembly, and, earnestly to entreat, that he would not leave the army. The Duke made a show of resistance, and only yielded after the second deputation. This concession on his side, seemed to demand a return on theirs ; as he engaged not to quit the service without the knowledge and approbation of the commanders, he required of them a written counter-promise to adhere firmly to him, neither to separate nor to allow themselves to be separated from him, and to shed their last drop of blood in his defence. Whoever should desert this confederacy, was to be regarded as a perfidious traitor, and treated by the rest as a common enemy. The express clause which was added, "*As long as Wallenstein shall employ the army for the Emperor's service,*" seemed to exclude all possibility of mistake, and none of the assembled commanders hesitated at once to grant a request apparently so innocent and so reasonable.

The reading of this document took place immediately before an entertainment, which Field-Marshal Illo had ordered expressly with that view ; the signing was to take place when they rose from table. The host did his utmost to darken the intellects of his guests by strong potations ; and it was not until he had effected this that he produced the paper for signature. Most of them wrote their names without knowing what they were subscribing ; a few only more curious or more distrustful read the paper over again, and discovered, to their astonishment, that the clause, "as long as

Wallenstein shall employ the army for the Emperor's service," was omitted. Illo had, in fact, dexterously contrived to substitute in place of the first copy, another, in which this clause was wanting. The trick was now evident, and many hesitated to sign the writing. Piccolomini who had seen through the whole device, and had been present at this scene, merely with the view of giving information of the whole to the Court, forgot himself so far in his cups, as to drink the Emperor's health. But Count Terzky now rose and declared, that all were perjured villains who should retract their promise. His menaces, the representation of the inevitable delay to which they would be exposed by longer delay, the example of the rest and Illo's rhetoric, at last overcame their scruples, and the paper was signed by all without exception.

Wallenstein had now effected his purpose, but the unexpected resistance he had met with from the commanders, roused him at once from the illusion in which he had hitherto indulged. Besides, most of the names were so illegibly scrawled, that it was impossible not to suspect that some deceit was intended. But instead of being recalled to his recollection by this warning, he gave vent to his injured pride in complaints and reproaches. He called a meeting of the commanders the next day, and undertook, personally, to confirm the whole tenor of the agreement, which Illo had submitted to them the day before. After pouring out the bitterest reproaches and abuse against the Court, he reminded them of their opposition to the proposals of the day before, and declared, that this discovery would induce him to retract his promise. The generals withdrew in silence and con-

fusion ; but after a short consultation in the anti-chamber, they returned to apologize for their late conduct, and offered to sign the agreement anew.

Nothing now remained but to obtain a similar assurance from the absent generals, or, in case of refusal, to seize their persons. Wallenstein renewed his invitation to them, and urged them to hasten their arrival. But the rumour of what had taken place at Pilsen reached them on their journey, and soon stopped their further progress. Altringer remained in the strong fortress of Frauenberg, on pretence of sickness. Gallas made his appearance, but only in the character of a spy, and in order, more completely, to afford the Emperor information as to the approaching danger. The intelligence which he and Piccolomini gave, at once converted the suspicions of the Court into an alarming certainty. Similar disclosures which were at the same time made from other quarters, left no room for farther doubt ; and the sudden change of commanders which took place in Austria and Silesia, appeared to be the prelude to some enterprise of the deepest importance. A danger so pressing required a remedy not less immediate ; but the Court were unwilling to proceed at once to the execution of the sentence, till the regular forms of justice were complied with. Secret instructions were therefore issued to the principal officers, whose fidelity could be relied on, to seize the Duke of Friedland with his two associates, Illo and Terzky, in any way, and keep them in close confinement till they should have an opportunity of being heard, and of answering for their conduct ; but if this could not be accomplished quietly, the

public danger required that they should be taken dead or alive. General Gallas, at the same time, received a commission, directing these orders of the Emperor to be communicated to the colonels and officers, and by which the army was released from its obedience to the traitor, and placed under the command of Gallas, till a new generalissimo could be appointed. To recall to their allegiance those who had been seduced, and to avoid driving the guilty to despair, a general amnesty was proclaimed, in regard to all offences against the Imperial majesty, which had taken place at Pilsen.

General Gallas was not pleased with the honour which was done him. At Pilsen he found himself under the observation of the person whose fate he was to decide; in the power of an enemy, who had a hundred eyes to watch his motions. If Wallenstein discovered the secret of his commission, nothing could save him from the effects of his vengeance and despair. But if it was thus dangerous to be the mere depositary of such a commission, how much more dangerous would be its execution? The sentiments of the generals could not be relied on; and it was at least doubtful whether, after the step they had taken, they would be inclined to trust to the assurances of the Court, and at once to abandon the brilliant hopes they had formed, from the enterprise of Wallenstein. How dangerous too, the attempt to lay hands upon the person of a man who, till now, had been considered inviolable; who had long been the object of the deepest reverence, through the habitual exercise of power, and an obedience, which had acquired the force of custom; who was invested with

every attribute of outward majesty and inward greatness ; whose very aspect inspired terror, and whose nod was the signal of life and death ! To seize such a man like a common criminal, in the midst of the guards by whom he was surrounded, and in a city apparently devoted to him ; to convert the object of this deep and habitual veneration into a subject of compassion, or of contempt, was a task calculated to shake even the courage of the bravest. Fear and veneration for their general were now so deeply engraven in the breasts of the soldiers, that even the atrocious crime of high treason could not eradicate these sentiments.

Gallas perceived the impossibility of executing his commission under the eyes of the Duke ; and his most anxious wish was, to have an interview with Gallas, before venturing on its execution. The long delay of the latter was already beginning to excite the suspicions of the Duke ; and Gallas now offered to repair in person to Frauenberg, and to prevail on Altringer, his relation, to return with him. Wallenstein was so pleased with this proof of his zeal, that he even lent him his own equipage for the journey. Delighted with the success of his stratagem, he left Pilsen without delay, leaving to Count Piccolomini the task of watching the motions of Wallenstein. He lost no time in making use of the Imperial patent wherever he went, and the sentiments of the troops he found more favourable than he had expected. Instead of bringing back his friend with him, he despatched him to Vienna, to warn the Emperor against the intended attack, while he himself repaired to Upper Austria, which was then threatened by the dangerous approach of Duke Bernard.

In Bohemia the towns of Ludweiss and Tabor were again taken possession of for the Emperor, and every preparation made to oppose with energy the designs of the traitor.

As Gallas did not appear disposed to return, Piccolomini ventured to put the credulity of the Duke once more to the test. He begged to be allowed to bring back Gallas, and Wallenstein a second time allowed himself to be overreached. This inconceivable blindness is only explicable as the result of his pride, which now recalled the opinion it had once formed of an individual, and would not admit, even to itself, the possibility of error. He conveyed Count Piccolomini in his own carriage to Lintz, where the latter immediately followed the example of Gallas, and even went a step farther. He had promised the Duke to return. He did so, but it was at the head of an army, to surprise the Duke in Pilsen. Another army hastened under General Suys, to Prague, to secure that capital in its allegiance, and defend it against an attack of the rebels. Gallas, at the same time, announced himself to the different Imperial armies as the sole commander, from whom they were henceforth to receive orders. Placards were circulated through all the Imperial camps, denouncing the Duke and his four confidants, and releasing the troops from their allegiance to him.

The example which had been given at Lintz, was universally followed; the designs of the traitor were condemned, and he was forsaken by all the armies. At last, when even Piccolomini returned no more, the mist fell from Wallenstein's eyes, and he awoke in consternation

from his dream. Yet he still continued to believe in the truth of astrology, and in the fidelity of the army. Immediately after the intelligence of Piccolomini's defection, he issued orders, that in future no commands should be obeyed, which did not proceed directly from himself, or from Terzky or Illo. He prepared, in all haste, to advance upon Prague, where he intended to throw off the mask, and openly to declare against the Emperor. All the troops were to assemble before Prague, and from thence to pour down with rapidity upon Austria. Duke Bernard, who had entered upon the conspiracy, was to support the operations of the Duke, with the Swedish troops, and to effect a diversion upon the Danube.

Terzky was already upon his march towards Prague ; and nothing but the want of cavalry prevented the Duke from following him with the regiments who still adhered to him. But when he awaited, with the most anxious expectation, intelligence from Prague, he suddenly received information of the loss of that town, the defection of his generals, the desertion of his troops, the discovery of his whole plot, and the rapid advance of Piccolomini, who had vowed his destruction. Suddenly and fearfully had all his projects been blasted—all his hopes annihilated. He stood alone, abandoned by all to whom he had been a benefactor, betrayed by all on whom he had depended ; but it is under such circumstances that great minds prove their strength. Though disappointed in all his expectations, he abandoned none of his designs ; he gave up nothing for lost,

so long as he himself survived. The time was now come when he absolutely required that assistance, which he so often solicited from the Swedes and the Saxons, and when all doubts of the sincerity of his purposes must be dispelled ; and now, when Oxenstiern and Arnheim perceived the reality of his intentions, and were aware of his necessities, they no longer hesitated to avail themselves of the favourable opportunity, and to offer him their protection. The Duke Francis Albert of Saxe-Lauenburg was to join him with 4000 troops from Saxony ; and Duke Bernard, and the Palatine Christian of Birkenfeld, with 6000 from Sweden, all chosen troops.

Wallenstein left Pilsen, with Terzky's regiment, and the few who either were, or pretended to be, faithful to him, and hastened to Egra, on the frontiers of the kingdom, in order to be nearer the Upper Palatinate, and to facilitate his junction with Duke Bernard. He was not yet aware of the sentence which proclaimed him a public enemy and traitor ; this thunder-stroke awaited him at Egra. He still calculated upon the army which General Schafgotsch was preparing for him in Silesia, and still flattered himself with the hope that many even of those who had abandoned him, would return with the first dawning prospect of success. Even on his flight to Egra (so little humility had he learned from melancholy experience) he was still occupied with the gigantic project of dethroning the Emperor. It was under these circumstances that one of his suite asked leave to offer him his advice. " Under the Emperor," said he, " your Highness is a great and

respected noble ; if you join the enemy, you are at best but a precarious King. It is unwise to exchange certainty for uncertainty. The enemy will avail themselves of your personal influence while the opportunity is favourable ; but you will ever be regarded with suspicion, and they will constantly be apprehensive that you may treat them as you have done the Emperor. Return, then, to your allegiance, while there is yet time.” —“ And how is that to be done ? ” said Wallenstein, interrupting him : “ You have 40,000 men at arms, rejoined he, (alluding to the coinage of the time, which was stamped with the figure of an armed man), take them with you : travel straight to the Imperial Court : there declare that all the steps you have hitherto taken were merely with the view of putting the fidelity of the Emperor’s servants to the test, and of distinguishing the loyal from the suspicious ; and since most have shown a disposition to revolt, say you are come to warn his Imperial Majesty against these dangerous men. Thus you will make your enemies appear as traitors, while they were labouring to represent you in the same light. At the Imperial Court, your 40,000 ducats will assure your welcome, and Friedland will be restored to all his former favour.” —“ The proposal is good,” said Wallenstein, after a pause,—“ but let the devil trust to it.”

While the Duke, in his retirement in Egra, was actively carrying on his negotiations with the enemy, consulting the stars, and indulging in new hopes, the dagger which was to put a period to his existence was unsheathed almost under his very eyes. The Imperial proscription which proclaim-

fate ordained that ingratitude should be repaid with ingratitude. Among his officers, Wallenstein had particularly distinguished one Leslie, an Irishman, and had made his fortune. This was the man who now felt himself called on to execute the sentence against him, and to earn the price of blood. No sooner had he reached Egra, in the suite of the Duke, than he disclosed to the commandant of the town, Colonel Buttler, * and to Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon, two Protestant Scotchmen, the treasonable designs of the Duke, which the latter had been incautious enough to communicate to him during the journey. He had met with two men suited to his purposes. They were called on to choose between treason and duty, between their legitimate sovereign and a fugitive and forsaken rebel ; and though the latter was their common benefactor, the choice could not remain for a moment doubtful. Their allegiance was firmly and solemnly pledged to the Emperor, and that allegiance called for the most rapid measures against the public enemy. The opportunity was favourable ; his evil genius seemed to have delivered him into the hand of vengeance. But not to interfere with the province of justice, they resolved to deliver up their victim alive ; and they parted with the bold design of taking their general prisoner. This dark plot was buried in the deepest silence ; and Wallenstein, far from suspecting his impending ruin, flattered himself that in the garrison of Egra he possessed his bravest and most faithful adherents.

* Schiller is mistaken as to this point. Leslie was a Scotchman, and Buttler an Irishman.

It was at this time that he received the Imperial proclamations containing his sentence, and which had been published in all the camps. He now, for the first time, became aware of the full extent of the danger by which he was surrounded, the impossibility of any return to his allegiance, his present fearful and forlorn condition, and the absolute necessity of joining the enemy in earnest. He imparted to Leslie the anguish of his mind ; and the vehemence of his agitation drew from him his last remaining secret. He disclosed to this officer his resolution of delivering up Egra and Ellenbogen, the passes of the kingdom, to the Palatine of Birkenfeld, and acquainted him at the same time with the near approach of Duke Bernard, of whose arrival he expected to be informed by a messenger that very night. This disclosure, which Leslie immediately communicated to the conspirators, altered their first resolution. The urgency of the danger no longer admitted of any delay. Egra might in an instant be in the enemy's hands, and a sudden revolution might liberate their prisoner. To anticipate and prevent this misfortune, they resolved to assassinate him and his associates the next night.

In order that this design might be executed with less noise, the act was to be perpetrated at an entertainment which Colonel Buttler was to give in the Castle of Egra. All the guests appeared except Wallenstein, who was too much agitated to enjoy company, and sent an apology. With regard to him, therefore, it was necessary to change their plan ; but against the others they resolved to carry their design into execution. The three Colonels Illo, Terzky, and William Kinsky,

came in with careless confidence, and with them Captain Neumann, an officer of ability, of whose advice Terzky used to avail himself in any affair of intricacy. Previous to their arrival, the most trusty soldiers of the garrison, to whom the plot had been communicated, were admitted into the Castle, all the avenues leading from it guarded, and six of Buttler's dragoons concealed in a chamber near the banquet-room, who were to rush out on a concerted signal and put the traitors to death. Without suspecting the danger that impended over them, the guests abandoned themselves to the pleasures of the table, and Wallenstein's health was drunk in full bumpers, not as an Imperial servant, but as a sovereign prince. The wine opened their hearts, and Illo, with exultation, boasted that in three days an army would arrive such as Wallenstein had never yet commanded. "Yes," cried Neumann, "and then he hopes to bathe his hands in Austrian blood." During this conversation the dessert was brought in, and Leslie gave the concerted signal to raise the drawbridges, while he himself took the keys of the doors. The hall was instantly filled with armed men, who with the unexpected cry of "Long live Ferdinand!" placed themselves behind the chairs of the destined victims. All sprung up from table with a presentiment of their fate. Kinsky and Terzky were killed upon the spot, and before they could put themselves upon their guard. Neumann contrived, during the confusion in the hall, to escape into the court, where, however, he was recognised and cut down by the guards. Illo alone had the presence of mind to defend himself. He placed his back against a window, from whence he uttered the bit-

terest reproaches against Gordon, and challenged him to fight him fairly and honourably. After a most gallant resistance, in which he killed two of his assailants, he fell to the ground, overpowered by numbers and pierced by ten wounds. No sooner was the deed done, than Leslie hastened into the town to prevent a tumult. The guards at the Castle-gate, seeing him running and out of breath, and believing he was one of the party of the rebels, fired their muskets after him, but without effect. The firing, however, aroused the guards within the town, and nothing but the speedy arrival of Leslie would have been sufficient to calm the tumult. He now hastily disclosed to them the whole circumstances of Wallenstein's conspiracy, the measures which were already taken to prevent it, the fate of the four rebels, as well as that which awaited their principal. Finding them disposed to second his views, he again exacted from them an oath to be faithful to the Emperor, and to live and die for the good cause. A hundred of Butler's dragoons from the Castle were sent into the town to traverse the streets, to overawe the adherents of the Duke, and to prevent tumult. All the gates of Egra were at the same time taken possession of, and every avenue to Wallenstein's residence, which was adjoining to the market-place, guarded by a numerous and faithful detachment, sufficient to prevent either his escape or his receiving any assistance from without.

But before proceeding to the final execution of the deed, a long conference was held among the conspirators in the Castle, whether they should actually put him to death, or content themselves with making him prisoner. Covered as they were

with the blood of his associates, even these rude hearts shuddered at the idea of taking away so illustrious a life. They had seen him their leader in battle, in the days of his good fortune, surrounded by his victorious army, clothed with all the pomp of military greatness, and the awe to which they had been so long accustomed again seized upon their minds. But this transitory emotion was soon effaced by the recollection of the immediate danger. They remembered the threats which Neumann and Illo had thrown out at table, the near approach of the formidable army of the Swedes and the Saxons, and saw that their only chance of escape lay in the immediate destruction of the traitor. They adhered, therefore, to their first resolution, and Captain Deveroux, an Irishman, who had already been retained for that murderous purpose, received the bloody order.

While the three conspirators were thus deciding upon his fate in the castle of Egra, Wallenstein was employed with Seni, in endeavouring to read his destiny in the stars. "The danger is not yet over," said the astrologer with prophetic spirit. "It is," replied the Duke, whose impetuous will strove even to counteract the decrees of Heaven. "But it stands written in the stars, that thou thyself shalt soon be thrown into prison." The astrologer had taken his leave, and Wallenstein had retired to bed, when Captain Deveroux appeared before his residence with six halberdiers, and was immediately admitted by the guard, who were accustomed to see him visit the general at all hours. A page who met him upon the stair, and attempted to give the alarm, was run through the body with a pike. In the anti-

chamber, the assassins met a servant, who had just come out of the sleeping-room of his master, and had taken the key with him. Laying his finger upon his mouth, the terrified servant made signs to them to make no noise, as the Duke was asleep. "Friend," cried Deveroux, "it is time to awake him ;" and with these words he rushed against the door, which was bolted from within, and burst it open with a blow of his foot.

Wallenstein had been roused from his first sleep by the report of a musket which went off, and had sprung to the window to call the guard. At this moment he heard, from the windows of the adjoining building, the cries and lamentations of the Countesses Terzky and Kinsky, who had just been informed of the violent death of their husbands. Ere he had time to recover from the first shock of these events, Deveroux, with the assassins, was in his chamber. The Duke was in his shirt, as he had leapt out of bed, and was leaning on a table near the window. "Art thou the villain," cried Deveroux to him, "who intends to lead over the Emperor's troops to the enemy, and to dethrone his Majesty? Now thou must die!" He paused for a few moments, as if expecting an answer; but rage and astonishment had silenced Wallenstein. Throwing his arms open, he received full in his breast, the deadly blow of the halberts, and fell, bathed in his blood, without uttering a groan.

Next day an express arrived from the Duke of Lauenburg, announcing the approach of this Prince. The person of the ambassador was secured, and another servant in Wallenstein's livery, despatched to the Duke, to decoy him into Egra.

The stratagem succeeded, and Francis Albert delivered himself into the hands of the enemy. Duke Bernard of Weimar, who was already on his march towards Egra, had nearly shared the same fate ; but he fortunately learned the death of Wallenstein in time enough to secure himself by a retreat. Ferdinand shed a tear over the fate of his general, and ordered three thousand masses to be performed for his soul at Vienna ; but at the same time he did not forget to reward his assassins with gold chains, chamberlains keys, dignities and estates.

Thus, at the age of fifty, did Wallenstein terminate his active and extraordinary life, owing to ambition both his rise and his fall ; even amidst all his failings, a great and an admirable character, incapable of being surpassed, had he confined himself within due bounds. The virtues of the ruler and of the hero, prudence, justice, firmness, and courage, stand out with colossal magnitude in his character ; but he wanted the gentler virtues of the man, which adorn the hero, and obtain for the ruler the love of his subjects. Terror was the talisman with which he worked : excessive in his punishments as in his rewards, he knew how to keep the zeal of his followers constantly on the stretch, and he exacted from his soldiers an unhesitating obedience, such as no general of ancient or modern times could boast of. Submission to his will was to him more valuable than bravery ; for the latter was valuable to the mere soldier, but the former to the general. He kept the submission of his troops in constant practice by capricious orders, and rewarded the readiness to obey his will even in trifles with profusion ; because he looked rather to the act of obedience itself, than the sub-

ject on which it was to be exerted. He once issued an order, that none but red sashes should be worn in the army. A captain of horse no sooner heard the order, than he pulled off his gold-embroidered sash, and trampled it under foot ; Wallenstein, on being informed of the circumstance, promoted him to the rank of Colonel upon the spot. His comprehensive glance was always directed to the whole, and with all this appearance of caprice, he never lost sight of his main object. The robberies committed by the soldiers in a friendly country, had led to the severest orders against marauders ; and all who were detected in a theft, were threatened with the halter. It happened that Wallenstein himself met a soldier upon the field, whom he ordered to be apprehended without trial as a transgressor of the law, and with his usual stern order of " Hang the fellow, " against which no opposition ever availed, condemned him to the gallows. The soldier pleaded and maintained his innocence, but the irrevocable sentence had gone forth. " Hang then innocent, " cried the inhuman Wallenstein, " the guilty will have then more reason to tremble. " Preparations were already making to put the sentence in execution, when the soldier, who gave himself up for lost, formed the desperate resolution of not dying without revenge. He fell furiously upon his judge, but was overpowered by numbers, and disarmed before he could execute his design. " Now, let him go, " said the Duke, " this will excite sufficient terror. "

His munificence was supported by immense revenues, which were valued at three millions of florins yearly, without reckoning the enormous sums which he received by contributions. His

freedom of thought, and clear understanding, raised him above the religious prejudices of his age ; and the Jesuits never forgave him for having seen through their system, and beheld in the Pope nothing but a Roman Bishop.

But as, since the days of Samuel the Prophet, no one has ever yet come to a fortunate end who has quarrelled with the Church, Wallenstein was also destined to augment the number of its victims. Through the intrigues of monks, he lost at Ratisbon the command of the army, and at Egra his life ; by the same arts, perhaps, he lost what was of more consequence, his honourable name and reputation with posterity.

For it must in justice be admitted, that the history of this extraordinary man has been transmitted to us by no impartial hand, and that the treachery of the Duke, and his designs upon the throne of Bohemia, rest not so much upon proof, as upon probability and suspicion. No documents have yet been found, which disclose with historical certainty the secret motives of his conduct ; and among all the actions which are generally ascribed to him, there is perhaps none which is not reconcilable with the supposition of innocence. Many of his most obnoxious measures proved nothing but the earnest wish he entertained for peace ; most of the others are explained and justified by the well-founded distrust he entertained of the Emperor, and the excusable wish of maintaining his own importance. His conduct towards the Elector of Bavaria, it is true, bears the impress of an unworthy feeling of revenge ; but none of his actions perhaps, justify us in holding that his treason is proved. If necessity and despair at last

drove him to merit the sentence which had been pronounced against him while innocent, his ultimate conduct cannot justify that sentence ; he was not punished because he was a rebel, but he became a rebel because he was unjustly condemned. It was a misfortune for him while alive that he made a victorious party his enemy, and still more unfortunate for him when dead, that the same party survived to write his history.

HISTORY

OF THE

THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

BOOK V.

WALLENSTEIN'S death made a new generalissimo necessary ; and the Emperor, yielding at last to the persuasions of the Spaniards, conferred that rank upon his son Ferdinand, King of Hungary. Under him Count Gallas commanded, who performed the duties of General, while the Prince gave to this post nothing but the support of his name and his dignity. A considerable force was soon assembled under Ferdinand's colours ; auxiliary troops were brought up by the Duke of Lorraine in person, and the Cardinal Infant advanced from Italy with 10,000 men, to reinforce his army. In order to drive the enemy from the Danube, the new general undertook the enterprise in which his predecessor had failed, the siege of Ratisbon.

It was in vain that Duke Bernard of Weimar penetrated into the interior of Bavaria, in order to draw the enemy from the town ; Ferdinand pressed the siege with vigour, and the city, after a most obstinate resistance, surrendered. Donauwerth soon afterwards shared the same fate, and Nordlingen in Swabia was now invested. The loss of so many cities of the empire was the more severely felt by the Swedish party ; because, as the friendship of these towns had so decisively contributed to the success of their arms, any appearance of indifference to their fate would have been the less excusable. It would have loaded them with indelible disgrace had they abandoned their confederates in time of need, and abandoned them to the revenge of an implacable conqueror. Moved by these considerations, the Swedish army, under the command of Horn, and Bernard of Weimar, advanced upon Nordlingen, determined, even at the expense of a battle, to relieve that town.

The undertaking was a dangerous one, for the enemy's force was considerably superior to that of the Swedes. There was also this additional reason for avoiding a battle at present, that the enemy's force was likely soon to separate ; the Italian troops being destined for the Netherlands. In the meantime a position might be taken up, so as to cover Nordlingen, and cut off the enemy's supplies. All these grounds were stated by Gustavus Horn in the Swedish council of war ; but his remonstrances made no impression upon minds, which, intoxicated by a long career of success, mistook the suggestions of prudence for the voice of timidity. Borne down by the superior influence of Duke Bernard, Gustavus Horn was unwillingly

compelled to risk a contest, the unfavourable issue of which a foreboding presentiment seemed to announce to him. The whole fate of the battle depended upon the possession of an eminence which commanded the Imperial camp. The attempt to gain possession of it during the night failed, as the tedious operation of transporting the artillery through woods and hollow ways delayed the march of the troops. On reaching it about midnight, the enemy were found in possession of the heights, which were defended by strong batteries. They waited therefore for day-break, to commence the storm. The impetuous bravery of the Swedes penetrated through every obstacle; the entrenchments, which were in the form of a crescent, were fortunately scaled by each of the brigades which were sent against them; but as both entered at the same time from opposite sides, they met and confused each other. At this unfortunate moment it happened that a barrel of powder blew up, and created the greatest disorder among the Swedes. The Imperial cavalry broke in upon the scattered ranks, and the flight became general. No persuasion on the part of their general could induce the fugitives to renew the attack.

He resolved, therefore, in order to maintain this important post, to detach fresh troops to this position. But in the meantime some Spanish regiments had taken possession of it, and every attempt to carry it was baffled by the heroic bravery of these troops. One of the Duke's regiments, which had been sent against it, advanced several times to the attack, and was as often repulsed. The disadvantage of not occupying this post in

time, was soon perceived. The fire of the enemy's artillery from the heights caused such slaughter in the adjacent wing of the Swedes, that Gustavus Horn who commanded it, was compelled to retreat. Instead of being able to cover the retreat of his colleague, and to check the pursuit of the enemy, Duke Bernard, overpowered by numbers, was himself driven into the plain, where his flying cavalry threw the troops of Horn into confusion, till the defeat and flight became universal. Nearly the whole of the infantry were killed or taken prisoners. More than 12,000 men fell upon the field of battle; 80 cannon, about 4000 waggons, and 300 standards and colours fell into the hands of the Imperialists. Gustavus Horn himself, with three other generals, were taken prisoners. Duke Bernard with difficulty saved some feeble remnants of his army, who rejoined him at Frankfort.

The defeat at Nordlingen cost the Swedish Chancellor the second sleepless night he had passed in Germany. The consequences of this disaster were terrible. The Swedes had now lost their superiority in the field, and with it the confidence of their confederates, for which they were indebted solely to their previous military success. A dangerous division threatened the whole Protestant Union with destruction. Consternation and terror seized upon the whole party; while the Catholics arose with exulting triumph from the humiliation into which they had fallen. Swabia and the adjacent Circles experienced the first consequences of the defeat of Nordlingen; and Wirtemberg, in particular, was overrun by the conquering army. All the members of the League of Heilbronn trembled at the prospect of

the Emperor's revenge ; those who had the means of flight hurried to Strasburg, while the helpless Imperial cities awaited their fate with anxiety. A little more moderation towards the vanquished would have reduced all these weaker states under the command of the Emperor. But the severity with which even those who voluntarily surrendered were treated, drove the rest to despair, and animated them to a vigorous resistance.

In this embarrassment all looked for advice and assistance to Oxenstiern ; Oxenstiern applied for both to the German States. He wanted troops, he wanted money to raise new levies, and to pay to the old the arrears for which they were so clamorous. Oxenstiern addressed himself to the Elector of Saxony ; but he had abandoned the Swedish cause to enter into a negotiation for peace with the Emperor at Pirna. He solicited aid from the Lower Saxon States ; but they, long wearied of the Swedish pretensions and demands for money, now thought only of themselves ; and George Duke of Lunenburg, in place of flying to the assistance of Upper Germany, laid siege to Minden, with the intention of keeping possession of it for himself. Abandoned by his German allies, the Chancellor exerted himself to obtain the assistance of foreign powers. England, Holland, and Venice, were applied to for troops and money ; and, impelled by necessity, the Chancellor reluctantly resolved to take the step which he had so long avoided, and to throw himself under the protection of France.

The moment had at last come which Richelieu had awaited with such impatience. Nothing, he was aware, but the impossibility of saving them-

selves, in any other way, could induce the Protestant States in Germany to favour the pretensions of France upon Alsace. But this necessity had at last arrived ; the assistance of France was indispensable, and that kingdom was indeed fully recompensed for the active part which it henceforth took in the German war. It opened its career upon the political theatre with splendour. Oxenstiern, who felt little reluctance in bestowing the rights and possessions of the empire, had already ceded the fortress of Philipsburg, and the other places which had been required by Richelieu. The Protestants of Upper Germany now, in their own names, sent a special embassy to Richelieu, requesting him to take Alsace, the fortress of Breysach, which was still in the hands of the enemy, and all the places upon the Upper Rhine, which formed the key of Germany, under the protection of France. The meaning of that term was already sufficiently obvious, from the conduct of France in the Bishopricks of Mentz, Toul and Verdun, which it had held out for centuries against the rightful possessors. Treves was already in the possession of French garrisons ; Lorraine was in a manner conquered, as it might at any time be overrun by an army, and could not, by its own strength, withstand the power of its formidable neighbour. France now enjoyed the prospect of adding Alsace to its extensive possessions, and of rendering the Rhine its natural boundary towards Germany, as it had already done with the Dutch in the Spanish Netherlands. Thus shamefully were the rights of Germany sacrificed by the German States to this treacherous and avaricious power, which, under the mask of a

disinterested friendship, aimed only at its own aggrandizement; and while it boldly claimed the honourable title of a Protectress, was employed only in extending its own schemes, and promoting its own interests amidst the general confusion.

In return for these important concessions, France engaged to effect a division in favour of the Swedes, by commencing hostilities against the Spaniards; and if it should be necessary to come to an open breach with the Emperor, to maintain an army upon the German side of the Rhine, which, in conjunction with the Swedes and Germans, was to act against Austria. The Spaniards themselves afforded the wished for pretext for a war. They made an inroad from the Netherlands upon the city of Treves, cut the French garrison in the town to pieces, and, contrary to the rights of nations, made prisoner the Elector, who had placed himself under the protection of France, and carried him into Flanders. When the Cardinal Infant, as Viceroy of the Spanish Netherlands, refused the King of France the satisfaction he demanded, and hesitated to restore the Prince to liberty, Richelieu, after the old custom, formally proclaimed war against Brussels by a herald, and the war was actually opened by three different armies in Milan, in the Valteline, and in Flanders. The French minister was less anxious to accelerate the war against the Emperor, in which fewer advantages were to be obtained, and greater difficulties were to be encountered. A fourth army, however, was detached across the Rhine into Germany, under the command of Cardinal Lavalette, which, in conjunction with Duke Bernard, was to take the field

against the Emperor, without any previous declaration of war.

A far severer blow for the Swedes, than even the defeat of Nordlingen, was the reconciliation of the Elector of Saxony with the Emperor, which, after repeated attempts both to further and to prevent it, finally took place in 1634, at Pirna, and was reduced into a formal treaty of peace the following year at Prague. The Elector of Saxony could never be reconciled to the pretensions of the Swedes in Germany; and his aversion to this foreign power, which now gave laws within the empire, had increased with every new demand which Oxenstiern had made upon the German States. This dislike towards the Swedes was powerfully supported by the efforts of the Spanish Court, to effect a peace between Saxony and the Emperor. Wearied with the calamities of so long and so destructive a war, which seemed to have selected Saxony for its peculiar theatre, touched by the depth and extent of the miseries which friend and foe indiscriminately heaped upon his subjects, and won over by the seductive proposals of the House of Austria, the Elector at last abandoned the common cause, and, careless of the fate of his confederates, or of the liberties of Germany, thought only of securing his own advantages, even at the expense of the rest.

And, in truth, the misery of Germany had risen to such a height, that all voices were equally clamorous for peace upon any terms, however disadvantageous. Fields lay waste and desolate, which formerly had been peopled by thousands of active and industrious inhabitants, where nature

had expended its choicest gifts, and plenty and prosperity had reigned. The fields, abandoned by the industrious husbandman, lay waste and uncultivated; and where a young crop, or the promise of a smiling harvest appeared, the march of a single army destroyed the labours of a year, and blasted the last hope of a suffering peasantry. Burnt castles, waste fields, villages in ashes, extended far and wide around, while their ruined inhabitants were driven to increase the horde of the incendiaries, and to retaliate upon their fellow-citizens, who had escaped the miseries which they themselves had suffered. There was no other protection against oppression, than that of becoming an oppressor. The towns groaned under the scourge of undisciplined and predatory garrisons, who wasted the property of the citizens, availed themselves to the utmost of the freedom of war, the license allowed by their own condition, and the advantages which they derived from the necessities of others. Though the brief march of a single army converted whole provinces into desarts, though others were impoverished by winter quarterings, or exhausted by contributions, these were still but passing evils, and the industry of a year might efface the miseries of a few months; but for those who had a garrison within their walls, or in the neighbourhood, no such redress was to be hoped for; their unfortunate fate could not be improved even by the change of fortune, since the victor trode in the steps of the vanquished, and friend and foe treated them with equal severity. The abandonment of the fields, the destruction of the crops, and the constant succession of armies which overran the exhausted country, were inevi-

tably followed by famine and the high price of provisions, which was latterly increased by a general sterility. The crowding together of men in camps and quarterings—want upon one side, and excess on the other, occasioned contagious disorders, which proved more fatal than even fire and sword. All the bonds of social order were dissolved in this long-continued confusion;—respect for the rights of men, the fear of the laws, purity of morals; fidelity and religion, were forgotten, where all was governed by the iron sceptre of strength. All vices flourished under the protection of anarchy and impunity, and men became savage like the country itself. No situation was so dignified as to afford protection against outrage, no property safe from necessity and avarice; to express the misery of the period in a single word, the soldier ruled; and that most brutal of despots frequently made his own officer feel his power. The leader of an army was a far more dignified person within the country where he appeared, than the legitimate sovereign, who was frequently obliged to take refuge within his own castles. Germany swarmed with these petty tyrants, and the country groaned equally under its enemies and its protectors. These wounds were the more grievous, when it is recollected that Germany was the victim of the avarice of foreign powers, who prolonged the miseries of war for their own purposes. Germany was bleeding under the scourge of war, to promote the interests and extend the conquests of Sweden, and the torch of discord was kept alive within the empire, that the services of Richelieu might be rendered indispensable in France.

But it was not merely interested voices which

opposed a peace ; and if both Sweden and the German States were anxious, from such motives, to prolong the war, they were, in this instance, seconded by the dictates of a sound policy. An advantageous peace could no longer be expected from the Emperor, after the defeat of Nordlingen. And if this could not be obtained, would they not have borne the miseries of war for sixteen years, and exhausted their strength, to quit the contest after all, at least without disadvantage, or rather with loss ? What availed the blood that had been shed, if every thing was to remain as it had been ; if their rights and pretensions were neither increased nor secured ; if all that had been won with so much difficulty was to be sacrificed by a peace ? Was it not better to support, for two or three years longer, the burden they had borne so long, and to reap at last some recompense for twenty years of suffering ? Nor was it doubtful, that an advantageous peace might be obtained, if the Swedes and the German Protestants only continued firm in the cabinet and in the field, and pursued their common interests with a reciprocal sympathy, and united zeal. It was their division alone, that rendered the enemy formidable, and protracted the hope of obtaining a prosperous and permanent peace ; and this greatest of all evils, the Elector of Saxony had occasioned to the Protestant cause, by the separate treaty into which he had entered with Austria.

He had commenced his negotiations with the Emperor, even before the defeat of Nordlingen ; but the unfortunate issue of that battle accelerated the conclusion of the treaty. All confidence in the assistance of the Swedes was gone ; and doubts

were entertained whether they would ever recover the blow they had received. The division which existed among their generals, the insubordination of the army, and the exhaustion of the Swedish kingdom, gave little reason to expect any effective assistance on their part. He hastened, therefore, to avail himself the more readily of the Emperor's magnanimity, who, even after the battle of Nordlingen, did not recall the offers he had made. Oxenstiern, who had assembled the States in Frankfort, made demands upon them. The Emperor, on the contrary, made concessions; and, therefore, no long consideration was necessary to determine his choice.

In the meantime, however, he was anxious to avoid the appearance of sacrificing the common cause, and attending only to his own interests. All the German States, and even the Swedes, were publicly invited to co-operate and participate in this peace, although Saxony and the Emperor were the only powers who concluded it, and assumed to themselves the right of giving law to Germany. The grievances of the Protestant States were discussed; their rights and privileges decided by this arbitrary tribunal; and even the fate of their religion determined, without the presence of the members, who were so deeply interested in it. A general peace was resolved on, and was to be carried into effect by an Imperial army of execution, as a formal decree of the empire. Whoever opposed this measure, was to be considered a public enemy; and thus, contrary to their rights, the States were to be compelled to acknowledge a law, in the passing

of which they had no share. The peace at Prague was thus, even in its form, an arbitrary measure ; nor was it less so in its contents. The Edict of Restitution had been the chief cause of the breach between the Elector and the Emperor ; and, therefore, it was first taken into consideration upon their reconciliation. Without expressly and formally recalling it, it was determined, by the treaty of Prague, that all the chapters holding immediately of the empire, and those among the mediate ones, which had been taken possession of by the Protestants after the treaty at Passau, should remain in the same situation as they had been in, before the Edict of Restitution ; but without any formal decision of the diet to that effect. Before the elapse of these forty years, a Commission, composed of equal numbers of both religions, should proceed to dispose of the matter peaceably, and according to law ; and if these should be unable to come to a decision, each party should remain in possession of the rights which it had exercised before the Edict of Restitution. This result, therefore, far from destroying the seeds of discord, suspended only for a time its destructive effects, and the sparks of a new war lay concealed beneath this article of the treaty of Prague.

The bishoprick of Magdeburg was to remain in possession of Prince Augustus of Saxony, and Halberstadt in that of the Archduke Leopold William. Four estates were taken from the territory of Magdeburg, and given to Saxony ; the Administrator of Magdeburg, Christian William of Brandenburg, was to be indemnified in another manner. The Duke of Mecklenburg, by accord

ing to this peace, were to receive back their territories, of which they had been already put in possession by the magnanimity of Gustavus Adolphus. Donauwerth recovered its liberties. The important claims of the heirs of the Palatine, however important the possession of that Electorate might be for the Protestant cause, were unattended to, from the dissensions and the animosity which subsisted between the Lutheran and the Calvinist party. All the conquests which had been made in the course of the war by the German States, the League and the Emperor, were to be mutually restored; all which had been appropriated by the foreign powers of France and Sweden was to be forcibly wrested from them by the united powers. The troops of the contracting parties were to be formed into one Imperial army, which, supported and paid by the empire, was to carry this peace into execution by force of arms.

As the peace of Prague was to operate as a general law of the empire, those points, which did not more immediately belong to the latter, formed the subject of a separate treaty. By this treaty Lusatia was ceded to the Elector of Saxony as a fief of Bohemia, and particular arrangements made with regard to the freedom of religion of this country and of Silesia.

All the Protestant States were invited to take part in the peace of Prague, and were on that condition to obtain the benefit of the amnesty. The Princes of Wurtemberg and Baden alone, of whose territories the Emperor was already in possession, and which he did not feel inclined to restore unconditionally, the subjects of Austria who had borne arms against their Sovereign, and those

States who, under the direction of Oxenstiern, had composed the Council of the Upper German Circle, were excluded from the treaty,—not so much with the view of continuing the war against them, as of compelling them to purchase peace at a dearer rate. Their territories were to be retained in pledge till every thing should be restored to its former footing. Equal justice towards all, would perhaps have restored confidence between the head of the empire and its members—between the Protestants and Catholics—between the Reformed and the Lutheran party; and the Swedes, abandoned by all their Allies, might have been compelled to retreat from Germany with disgrace. But this unequal treatment of the States strengthened the spirit of mistrust and opposition, and rendered it easy for the Swedes to keep alive the flame of war, and to maintain a party in Germany.

The peace of Prague, as was to be expected, was received with very various feelings throughout Germany. In the attempt to reconcile both parties, it had been rendered obnoxious to both. The Protestants complained of the restraints to which they had been subjected by this peace; the Catholics thought that the interests of their rivals had been but too much attended to at the expense of their own. In the opinion of the latter, the Church had been deprived of its inalienable rights by the forty years' possession of the Ecclesiastical benefices which had been granted to the Protestants; in that of the former, the interests of the Protestant Church had been betrayed, because religious toleration had not been obtained for their confederates in the Austrian dominions.

But no one was more bitterly blamed than the Elector of Saxony, who was publicly represented as a deserter, a traitor to religion and the liberties of the empire, and a confederate of the Emperor.

In the meantime, he consoled himself with the triumph of compelling most of the Protestant States to embrace this peace. The Elector of Brandenburg, Duke William of Weimar, the Princes of Anhalt, the Dukes of Mecklenburg, the Dukes of Brunswick Lunenburg, the Hanse-towns, and most of the Imperial cities, acceded to it. The Landgrave William of Hesse remained for some time irresolute, or rather affected to do so, in order to gain time, and to regulate his measures by the issue. He had forcibly conquered several fertile territories in Westphalia, from which he derived his chief resources for the continuance of the war, and all of which, by the terms of the treaty, he would now be compelled to restore. Bernard, Duke of Weimar, whose states, as yet, existed only on paper, was to be considered not as a belligerent power, but as a general; and, in either view, he must equally be disposed to reject the treaty of Prague. His whole riches consisted in his bravery, his possessions in his sword. War alone gave him greatness and importance, and war alone could realize the projects which his ambition suggested to him.

But of all who declared against the treaty of Prague, none were so loud in their clamours as the Swedes, and none had so much reason for their opposition. Called into Germany by the Germans themselves, the champions of the Protestant Church and the freedom of the States,

which they had purchased with so much bloodshed, and with the sacred life of their King, they saw themselves at once shamefully abandoned, deceived in all their plans, banished, without gratitude and without reward, from the empire for which they had toiled and bled, and exposed to the ridicule of the enemy by the very Princes who were so deeply indebted to them. No satisfaction, no indemnification for the expenses which they had incurred, no equivalent for the conquests which they were to leave behind them, was provided to them by the treaty of Prague. They were to be dismissed poorer than they came, or, if they resisted, to be expelled by the same hands which had invited them into Germany. The Elector of Saxony at last hinted at indemnification in money, and mentioned the sum of two millions five hundred thousand florins; but the Swedes had already expended a far greater sum, and this disgraceful equivalent in money was injurious to their pride. "The Electors of Bavaria and Saxony," replied Oxenstiern, "were paid for the services they rendered to the Emperor, and which, as vassals, they were bound to render, with the possession of important provinces; and shall we, who have sacrificed our King for Germany, be dismissed with the miserable sum of 2,500,000 florins?" The disappointment of their expectations was the more severe, because the Swedes had calculated upon being paid for their services with the Dutchy of Pomerania, the present possessor of which was old and without issue. But the succession of this territory was confirmed by the treaty of Prague to the Elector of Brandenburg; and all the neighbouring powers declared against

allowing the Swedes to obtain a footing within the territories of the empire.

Never, in the whole course of the war, had the prospects of the Swedes been more unfavourable than in the year 1635, immediately after the announcement of the peace of Prague. Many of their allies, particularly among the free cities, abandoned their party to obtain the benefit of the peace; others were compelled to accede to it by the victorious arms of the Emperor. Augsburg, subdued by famine, submitted under the severest conditions; Wurtzburg and Coburg were conquered by the Imperialists. The League of Heilbronn was formally dissolved. Nearly the whole of Upper Germany, the chief seat of the Swedish power, acknowledged the authority of the Emperor. Saxony, founding upon the treaty of Prague, demanded the evacuation of Thuringia, Halberstadt, and Magdeburg. Philipsburg, the military depot of France, was surprised by the Austrians, with all the stores it contained; and this important loss weakened the activity of France. To complete the embarrassments of the Swedes, the truce with Poland was drawing to a close. To maintain a war at once with Poland and in Germany, far exceeded the power of Sweden; and all that remained was to choose between them. Pride and ambition decided in favour of the continuation of the German war, at whatever sacrifice towards Poland. Still, however, an army was necessary to command respect on the part of Poland, and to secure some liberty of choice, in any negotiations which might take place for a truce or a peace. The mind of Oxenstiern, firm, and inexhaustible in expedients, arrayed itself against these

calamities, which had thus at once overwhelmed Sweden; and his penetrating understanding taught him how to turn even the misfortunes he had experienced to his advantage. It was true the defection of so many German cities of the empire deprived him of a great part of his former allies, but it freed him at the same time of all reserve with regard to them. The more the number of his enemies increased, the more provinces and magazines were opened to his troops. The gross ingratitude of the States, and the haughty contempt with which he was treated by the Emperor (who did not even condescend to treat with him directly about a peace), excited in him a feeling of despair, and a noble resolution to maintain the struggle to the last. The continuation of war, however unfortunate, could not render the situation of Sweden worse than it now was; and if Germany was to be evacuated, it was at least better and nobler to do so sword in hand, to yield to force, and not to fear.

In the extremity in which the Swedes were now placed by the desertion of their allies, they addressed themselves to France, who met them with the most encouraging offers of assistance. The interest of the two crowns was united in the closest manner, and France would have been acting against itself, had it allowed the power of Sweden to decline in Germany. The helpless situation of the Swedes, on the contrary, was an additional inducement to France to cement more closely their mutual alliance, and to take a more active part in the German war. From the conclusion of alliance with the Swedes at Beerwald in 1632, France had maintained the war against the Em-

peror, by the arms of Gustavus Adolphus, without any public or formal breach, by means of the supplies which it furnished to his opponents, and its activity in increasing their number. But alarmed at the unexpected rapidity and extraordinary success of the Swedish arms, France seemed, for a time, to have lost sight of its first view, in its anxiety to restore the balance of power, which the preponderance of the Swedes threatened to endanger. It endeavoured to protect the Catholic princes of the empire against the Swedish conqueror by the treaties of neutrality, and when these failed, was meditating to take arms against him. But no sooner was this apprehension dispelled by the death of Gustavus Adolphus, and the helpless situation of the Swedish affairs, than it returned with renewed zeal to the prosecution of its first design, and readily afforded to the unfortunate that assistance which she had refused them in the hour of success. Freed from the resistance which the ambition and vigilance of Gustavus Adolphus had opposed to its plans of aggrandisement, France availed herself of the favourable opportunity afforded by the defeat of Nordlingen, to obtain the entire direction of the war, and to prescribe laws to those who stood in need of its powerful protection. The moment seemed favourable to its boldest plans, and those which had formerly appeared merely chimerical, now appeared to be justified by the state of circumstances. It now directed its whole attention to the German war; and, as soon as it had secured its private ends by a treaty with the Germans, appeared, at once, as an active and a commanding power in the political theatre.

While the other belligerent powers had been exhausting themselves in a tedious contest, it had been sparing its strength and maintaining the war by money alone ; but now, when the state of circumstances required activity, it seized the sword, and, by the boldness and magnitude of its undertakings, astonished Europe. At the same moment it fitted out two fleets, and sent six different armies into the field, while, by its supplies, it supported a foreign crown and several of the German princes. Animated by the hope of its powerful protection, the Swedes and Germans awoke from the consternation into which they had fallen, and ventured, sword in hand, to renew the contest, in the hope of obtaining a more honourable peace than that of Prague. Abandoned by their confederates, who had entered into a reconciliation with the Emperor, they cemented their alliance more closely with France, which, as the necessity for its assistance became stronger, took a more active, though still a secret share in the German war, until at last it threw aside the mask, and declared war, in its own name, against the Emperor.

In order to leave Sweden at full liberty to act against Austria, France commenced its operations by endeavouring to terminate the Polish war. By means of its minister the Count d'Avaux, an agreement was concluded between the two powers at Sturmsdorf in Prussia, by which the truce was prolonged for twenty-six years, though not without great loss on the part of the Swedes, who ceded, by a single stroke of the pen, almost the whole of Polish Prussia, the dear-bought conquest of Gustavus Adolphus. The treaty of Beerwald was, with certain alterations, which circumstances

rendered necessary, renewed at different times at Compiègne, and afterwards at Wismar and Hamburg. France had, already, come to a rupture with Spain, in May 1635, and, by the vigorous attack which it made upon that power, the Emperor was deprived of his most important auxiliaries from the Netherlands. By his supporting the Landgrave William of Cassel and Duke Bernard of Weimar, the Swedes were enabled to act with more vigour upon the Elbe and the Danube, and the Emperor was compelled to divide his force by a powerful diversion upon the Rhine.

The war was now prosecuted with increasing activity. By the treaty of Prague, the Emperor had diminished the number of his opponents within the empire, though he had, at the same time, increased the zeal and activity of his foreign enemies. In Germany his influence was almost unlimited, for, with the exception of a few States, he had rendered himself absolute master of the German body and its resources, and was again enabled to act in the character of Emperor and Sovereign. The first result of this alteration was the elevation of his son Ferdinand III, to the dignity of King of the Romans, in which he prevailed by a decided plurality of voices, notwithstanding the opposition of Treves, and of the heirs of the Elector Palatine. But, on the other hand, he had driven the Swedes to despair, armed the power of France against him, and drawn its troops into the heart of the kingdom. France and Sweden, with their German allies, formed, from this moment, one firm and connected power; the Emperor, with the German States which adhered to him, the other. The Swedes, who no longer fought

for Germany, but for their own existence, showed no more indulgence ; they acted with more rapidity and boldness, because they were relieved from the necessity of consulting their German allies, or accounting to them for the plans which they adopted. Battles, though less decisive, became more obstinate and bloody ; greater exploits, both in point of bravery and of military skill, were performed ; but these actions were insulated ; and being neither dictated by any consistent plan, nor improved by any commanding spirit, were, comparatively, unimportant to the whole, and had little influence upon the course of the war.

Saxony had engaged, by the treaty of Prague, to expel the Swedes from Germany. From this moment the once hostile banners of the Saxons were united with those of the Imperialists, while those who had formerly been confederates, were converted into implacable enemies. The Bishopric of Magdeburg, which, by the treaty of Prague, was promised to a prince of Saxony, was still in the hands of the Swedes, and every attempt to obtain possession of it, by negotiation, had proved ineffectual. Hostilities commenced, by the Elector of Saxony recalling all his subjects from the army of Banner, which was encamped upon the Rhine. The officers, long irritated by the retention of their arrears, obeyed the summons, and evacuated one quarter after another. As the Saxons, at the same time, made a movement towards Mecklenburg, to take Dömitz, and to drive the Swedes from Pomerania and the Baltic, Banner suddenly marched thither, relieved Dömitz, and totally defeated the Saxon army of General Baudissin, amounting

to 7000 men, 1000 of whom were killed upon the spot, and about the same number taken prisoners. Reinforced by the troops and artillery, which had hitherto been employed in Polish Prussia, but which could now be spared in that quarter, since the treaty of Sturmsdorf, this brave and impetuous general, the following year, (1636), made a sudden inroad into the electorate of Saxony, where he gratified his hatred against the Saxons, by the most destructive ravages. Irritated by the recollection of old grievances, which he and the Swedes had suffered from the Saxons, during their common campaigns, and now exasperated to the utmost, by the late defection of the Elector, the unfortunate inhabitants were doomed to experience the full weight of their rancour and revenge. Against Austria and Bavaria, the Swedish soldiers had fought, rather from a feeling of duty; but against the Saxons, they contended with all the energy of private hatred and personal revenge, because they detested them as deserters and traitors; and no hatred is so fierce and irreconcilable, as that which subsists between foes who were formerly friends. The powerful diversion made by the Duke of Weimar, and the Landgrave of Hesse, upon the Rhine and in Westphalia, prevented the Emperor from affording the necessary assistance to Saxony, and left the whole electorate exposed to the destructive ravages of Banner's army.

At length the Elector, having formed a junction with the Imperial General Hatzfeld, advanced against Magdeburg, which Banner hastened to relieve, but in vain. The united army

of the Imperialists and the Saxons, spread itself over Brandenburg, wrested several places from the Swedes, and almost drove them to the shores of the Baltic. But, contrary to all expectation, Banner, whose circumstances appeared to every one to be desperate, attacked the allies, on the 24th September 1636, at Wittsbach, where a bloody battle took place. The onset was terrible; and the whole force of the enemy fell on the right wing of the Swedes, led on by Banner in person. The contest lasted on both sides for a long time, with equal animosity and obstinacy. There was scarcely a squadron among the Swedes, which did not advance ten times to the attack, and was as often repulsed; when at last, Banner was obliged to yield to the superiority of the enemy. His left wing maintained the combat until night; and the second line of the Swedes, which had not been engaged, was prepared to renew it the next morning. But the Elector of Saxony was not disposed to await a second attack. His army was exhausted by the efforts of the preceding day; and as the drivers had disappeared with the horses, he could not avail himself of his artillery. He, therefore, took to flight the same night with Count Hatzfeld, and left the field of battle to the Swedes. About 5000 of the allies fell upon the field of battle; not including those who were killed by the Swedish pursuers, or who fell into the hands of the exasperated peasantry. One hundred and fifty standards and colours, 23 cannon, the whole baggage and silver plate of the Elector, were taken; and more than 2000 men taken prisoners. This brilliant victory, obtained over an enemy far superior in numbers, and placed in

a most advantageous position, restored the Swedes, at once, to their former reputation ; their enemies were discouraged, the hopes of their friends began to revive. Banner availed himself of this decisive success, hastened across the Elbe, and drove the Imperialists through Thuringia and Hesse, into Westphalia. He then returned, and took up his winter-quarters in Saxony.

But, without the assistance which he had received from the diversion effected upon the Rhine by the activity of Duke Bernard and the French, these important successes would have been unattainable. Duke Bernard, after the defeat of Nordlingen, had collected the scattered fragments of his army at Wetterau ; but, abandoned by the League of Heilbronn, which had been completely put an end to by the peace of Prague, and receiving little support from the Swedes, he found himself unable to maintain an army, or to attempt any enterprise of importance at its head. The defeat at Nordlingen had put an end to all his hopes of the Dutchy of Franconia, while the weakness of the Swedes destroyed his chance of advancing his fortunes through the assistance of that power. Tired, too, of the constraint imposed upon him by the imperious pretensions of the Swedish Chancellor, he turned his attention to France, which might supply him with money, the only assistance which he required, and which readily acceded to his proposals. There was nothing for which Richelieu was more anxious, than to diminish the influence of the Swedes in the German war ; and, under the name of other powers, to obtain the direction of it for himself. For the attainment of this end, no means appeared to be more effectual,

than to detach from the Swedes their bravest general, to draw him into the interest of France, and to secure the assistance of his powerful arm for the execution of its projects. From a Prince like Bernard, who could not maintain himself without the assistance of a foreign power, France had nothing to fear, since no success, however brilliant, could render him independent of that crown. Bernard himself came into France, and, in October 1635, concluded a treaty with that crown at St Germain en Laye, not as a Swedish general, but in his own name, by which he was to receive a yearly pension of one million five hundred thousand livres for himself, and four millions for the support of his army, which he was to command under the orders of the King of France. To increase the activity of his zeal, and to accelerate the conquest of Alsace, France did not hesitate, by a secret article, to promise him that province in recompense for his services ; a promise which Richelieu had little intention of performing, and which the Duke also estimated at its real worth. But Bernard confided in his good fortune, and in his arms, and met the artifices of Richelieu by a corresponding dissimulation. If he could once succeed in wresting Alsace from the enemy, he did not despair of being able to maintain it also, in case of need, against his friends. He now raised an army at the expense of France, which he commanded nominally under the direction of that power, but in reality without any limitation whatever, and without having wholly abandoned his engagements with Sweden. He began his operations upon the Rhine, where another French army, un-

der Cardinal Lavalette, had commenced hostilities against the Emperor in 1635.

The main army of the Imperialists, after the great victory of Nordlingen, and the subjection of Swabia and Franconia, had advanced against this force under the command of Gallas, had driven them as far as Mentz, cleared the Rhine, and took from the Swedes the towns of Mentz and Frankenthal, of which they were in possession. But his main object, that of taking up his winter-quarters in France, was frustrated by the vigorous resistance of the French ; and he saw himself compelled to lead back his exhausted troops into Alsace and Swabia. At the opening of next year's campaign, he passed the Rhine at Breysach, and prepared to carry the war into the interior of France. He actually fell upon Burgundy, penetrated into Picardy ; and John De Werth, a formidable general of the League, and a celebrated partisan, made his way into Champagne, and spread consternation even to the gates of Paris. But the bravery of the Imperialists received a complete check before an insignificant fortress in Franche Comte ; and they were obliged a second time to abandon their enterprise.

The active spirit of Duke Bernard had hitherto been restrained by his dependence on a French General, better fitted to wear the priestly robe, than to wield the truncheon of command ; and although, in conjunction with him, he conquered Alsace Saverne, he found himself unable, in the years 1636 and 1637, to maintain his position upon the Rhine. The bad success of the French arms in the Netherlands had diminished the activity of operations in Alsace and Breisgau ; but in

1638, the war in that quarter took a more brilliant turn. Relieved from his former restraint, and now in the unlimited command of his troops, Duke Bernard, in the beginning of February, left his winter-quarters in the Bishoprick of Basle, and suddenly appeared upon the Rhine, where, at this rude season of the year, no attack was anticipated. The forest towns of Laufenburg, Waldschut and Seckingen, were surprised, and Rhinefeldt besieged. The Imperial general who commanded in that quarter, the Duke of Savelli, hastened by forced marches to the assistance of that place, succeeded in relieving it, and compelled the Duke of Weimar, with great loss, to retire. But, contrary to all human expectation, he appeared on the third day after (21st February 1638), in front of the Imperialists, and defeated them in a bloody battle, in which the four Imperial Generals, Savelli, John De Werth, Enkeford and Sperreuter, with 2000 men, were taken prisoners. Two of these, De Werth and Enkeford, were afterwards sent by Richelieu into France, to gratify the vanity of the French by the exhibition of prisoners of such importance, and to withdraw the attention of the populace from the public distress, by the pomp of military trophies. The captured standards and colours were, with the same view, carried in solemn procession to the church of Notre Dame, thrice exhibited before the altar, and committed to sacred custody.

The taking of Rhinefeldt, Röteln, and Fribourg, was the immediate consequence of the victory obtained by the Duke. His army now increased to a considerable number, and his projects expanded in proportion as fortune declared in his favour.

The fortress of Breysach upon the Rhine was supposed to command that stream, and was regarded as the key of Alsace. No place in this quarter was of more importance to the Emperor, and upon none had more care been bestowed. It was for the protection of Breysach that the Italian army, under the Duke of Feria, had been principally destined ; the strength of its works, and the advantages afforded by its situation, bade defiance to any assault, while the Imperial generals who commanded in that quarter, had orders to strain every nerve for its defence. But the Duke trusted to his good fortune, and resolved to attempt the siege. As its strength rendered it impregnable, it could only be starved into a surrender ; and the carelessness of the commandant, who, expecting no attack, had been selling off his stores, accelerated its fate. As under these circumstances the town could not long hold out against a siege, it was evident that it must be immediately relieved or supplied with provisions. The Imperial General Goetz rapidly advanced for this purpose at the head of 12,000 men, accompanied by 3000 waggons loaded with provisions, which he intended to throw into the place. But he was attacked by Duke Bernard at Witteweyer, and lost his whole force except 3000 men, together with the entire transport of provisions. The Duke of Lorraine, who, with 5000 or 6000 men, advanced to relieve the fortress, experienced a similar fate at Ochsenfeld near Thann. After a third attempt of General Goetz for the relief of Breysach had proved ineffectual, the fortress, reduced to the greatest extremity by famine, surrendered after a four months siege, on the 17th December 1638, to a con-

queror whose perseverance was equalled by his humanity.

The conquest of Breysach opened a boundless field to the ambition of the Duke of Weimar, and the visions which had filled his imagination now began to assume the appearance of reality. Far from intending to surrender his conquests to France, he destined Breysach for himself, and announced the intention, by the allegiance which he exacted from the vanquished, in his own name, and not in that of any other power. Intoxicated by his past success, and excited by the boldest hopes, he now believed that he should be able to maintain the conquests he had made against France herself. At a time when every thing depended upon bravery, when even personal strength was of importance, when troops and leaders were more valued than territory, it was natural for a hero like Bernard to place confidence in his own strength, and, at the head of an excellent army, who under his command felt itself invincible, to believe himself capable of effecting any design he might attempt. In order to secure himself one friend among the crowd of enemies with whom he was about to contend, he turned his eyes upon the Landgravine Amelia of Hesse, the widow of the lately deceased Landgrave William, a princess whose talents were equalled by her courage, and who, along with her hand, had the means of bestowing valuable conquests, an extensive principality, and a well disciplined army. By the union of the conquests of Hesse, with his own upon the Rhine, and the junction of their armies, a power of some importance, and perhaps a third party, might be formed in Germany, which might decide

the fate of the war. But a premature death put a period to these promising schemes.

"Courage, Father Joseph, Breysach is ours!" cried Richelieu to the Capuchin whom he now despatched into that quarter; so much was he delighted with this joyful intelligence. Already in imagination he had seized upon Alsace, Breisgau, and all the frontiers of Austria in that quarter, without regard to the promise which he had made to Duke Bernard. But the serious resolution which the latter had unequivocally announced, of keeping possession of Breysach for himself, placed the Cardinal in the greatest embarrassment, and no efforts were spared to retain the victorious Bernard in the interests of France. He was invited to court, to witness the festivities by which his triumph was to be commemorated; but he saw, and shunned the snare that was spread for him. The Cardinal even went so far as to offer him the hand of his niece in marriage; but the high-minded German prince declined the offer, and refused to sully the blood of Saxony by an inferior alliance. He was now considered as a dangerous enemy, and treated as such. His subsidies were withdrawn; and the Governor of Breysach and his principal officers were bribed (at least after the Duke's death) to take possession of his conquests, and to secure his troops. These artifices were no secret to the Duke, and the precautions he took in the places which he conquered, plainly evinced the distrust he felt towards France. But this rupture with the French court had the most prejudicial influence upon his future operations. The preparations he was obliged to make in order to

secure his conquests against an attack on the side of France, compelled him to divide his military strength, while the stoppage of his subsidies delayed his appearance in the field. He had intended to cross the Rhine, to give breathing-time to the Swedes, and to act against the Emperor and Bavaria on the banks of the Danube. He had already communicated his plan of operations to Banner, who meditated carrying the war into the Austrian territories, and had promised to enable him to do so, when a sudden death at Neuburg upon the Rhine, (in July 1639), terminated his career, in the 36th year of his age.

He died of a disorder resembling the plague, which, in the course of two days, carried off nearly 400 men in his camp. The black spots which appeared upon his body, his own expressions upon his death, and the advantages which France was likely to reap from his sudden decease, gave rise to a suspicion that he had been poisoned; a suspicion, however, which the nature of his disorder sufficiently refuted. In him the allies lost their greatest general after Gustavus Adolphus, while France was relieved of a formidable rival in Alsace, and the Emperor of his most dangerous enemy. Reared in the school of Gustavus Adolphus, in heroism and military skill, he successfully imitated his illustrious master, and wanted only a longer life to equal, if not to surpass his model. With the bravery of the soldier he united the calm and cool penetration of the general; with the persevering fortitude of the man, the daring resolution of youth; with the fire of the warrior, the dignity of the prince, the moderation of the wise man, and the conscientiousness of the

man of honour. Discouraged by no misfortune, his elastic spirit rose in all its vigour after the severest defeats; no obstacles could restrain his boldness, no disappointment triumph over his indomitable constancy. His mind, perhaps, laboured after objects which were unattainable; but spirits such as his are to be judged of by other rules than those by which the mass of men are guided; and, possessing the power of executing more than other men, he might be justified in forming plans more daring than those which would have been dictated by ordinary prudence. Bernard appears, in modern history, a noble example of those days of chivalry when personal greatness was the source of importance, when bravery could conquer provinces, and the heroic exploits of a German knight could raise him to the Imperial throne.

The best part of the Duke's possessions were his army, which, together with Alsace, he bequeathed to his brother William. But France and Sweden both thought that they had well-grounded claims to his army; the one because it had been raised in name of that Crown, and had done homage to it; the other, because it had been supported by its means. The Electoral Prince of the Palatinate also attempted, first by means of his agents, and latterly in his own person, to gain over the army to his interests, that he might employ it in the reconquest of his territories. Even the Emperor endeavoured to secure this army; nor need this excite our wonder, at a time when the justice of the cause was comparatively unimportant, and the extent of the recompense the main object to which the soldier looked; and when bravery, like every other commo-

dity, was disposed of to the highest bidder. But France, richer and more determined than its rivals, outbade all competitors: it bought over General Erlach, the commander of Breysach, and the other leaders, who soon placed that fortress, with the whole army, in their hands.

The young Palatine, Prince Charles Louis, who had already made an unsuccessful campaign against the Emperor, saw his expectations again deceived. With the intention of remonstrating with France on its conduct, he imprudently entered that kingdom. The Cardinal, who feared the justice of the Palatine's cause, was glad of any pretext to disappoint his views. He accordingly caused him to be seized at Moulin, in violation of the law of nations, and did not restore him to liberty, till he had been informed that the army of the Duke of Weimar had been secured. France was now in possession of a numerous and well disciplined army in Germany, and began, from thenceforth, openly to make war upon the Emperor in its own name.

But it was no longer against Ferdinand II. that its arms were to be directed; for that Prince had died in February 1637, in the 59th year of his age. The war which had been kindled by his ambition survived him. During an eighteen years' reign, he had never once laid aside the sword, or tasted the blessings of peace. Endowed with the qualities of a good sovereign, adorned with many of those virtues which constitute the happiness of a people, and naturally gentle and humane, we see him, from erroneous ideas of the duty of a monarch, become at once the instrument and the vic-

tim of the passions of others ; his benevolent intentions frustrated, and the friend of justice converted into the oppressor of mankind, the enemy of peace, and the scourge of his subjects. Amiable in his domestic life, and respectable as a sovereign, though ill advised in his policy, he was as much beloved by his Catholic subjects as he was detested by the Protestants. History presents us with greater and more cruel despots than Ferdinand II., and yet he alone has had the unfortunate celebrity of kindling a Thirty Years' War ; but his ambition must have combined with the state of the age, and with other causes and seeds of discord, before its consequences could have proved so destructive. At a more peaceful period the spark would have found no nourishment ; the calmness of all around would have silenced the voice of individual ambition ; but now the flash fell upon a high and wide pile of combustibles, long prepared for conflagration, and Europe was wrapped in flames.

His son, Ferdinand III., who a few months before his father's death, had been raised to the dignity of King of the Romans, inherited his throne, his principles, and the war which he had caused. But Ferdinand III. had seen more closely the sufferings of the people, and the devastation of the country, and felt more fully the necessity of peace. Less influenced by the Jesuits and the Spaniards, and more moderate towards both religions, he was more likely than his father to listen to the voice of reason. He did so, and at last restored the blessing of peace to Europe, but not till after a contest of eleven years with the sword and the pen ; not till after he had experienced the impossibility

of resistance, and was compelled to yield to the stern law of necessity.

Fortune was favourable to him at the commencement of his reign, and his arms were victorious against the Swedes. The latter, under the command of the victorious Banner, had, after their success at Wittstock, taken up their winter quarters in Saxony; and the campaign of 1637 opened with the siege of Leipzig. The vigorous resistance of the garrison, and the approach of the Electoral and Imperial armies saved the town, and Banner, to avoid being cut off from the Elbe, was compelled to retreat into Torgau. But the superior numbers of the Imperialists drove him even from that quarter; and, surrounded by the enemy, hemmed in by rivers, and pressed by famine, he was compelled to attempt a dangerous retreat into Pomerania, the boldness and successful issue of which border upon romance. The whole army crossed the Oder by a shallow place near Furstenberg; and the soldiers, even while up to the neck in water, dragged the cannon across, when the horses failed. Banner had expected to find General Wrangel on the farther side of the Oder in Pomerania; and, in conjunction with him, to be able to make head against the enemy. But Wrangel did not appear; and in his stead an Imperial army had posted itself at Landsberg, to cut off the retreat of the Swedes. Banner now saw that he had fallen into a dangerous snare, from which escape appeared impossible. In his rear lay an exhausted country, the Imperialists, and the Oder on his left; also the Oder, which being guarded by the Imperial General Bucheim, afforded no passage; in front, Landsberg, Custrin, the Warta,

and a hostile army ; and on the right, Poland, in which, notwithstanding the truce, little confidence could be placed. In these circumstances, he saw that nothing but a miracle could save him, and the Imperialists were already triumphing in the certainty of his fall. Banner, with just indignation, accused the French as the authors of this misfortune. They had neglected their promised diversion upon the Rhine, and, by their inactivity, allowed the Emperor to direct his whole force against the Swedes. " When the day comes," cried the incensed General to the French army who followed the camp, " that the Swedes and Germans join their arms against France, we shall cross the Rhine with less ceremony." But reproaches were now useless, energy and resolution alone could prevail. In the hope of decoying the enemy from the Oder, Banner pretended to direct his march towards Poland, despatched the greater part of his baggage in this direction, and sent his wife, with the wives of the other officers, by this route. The Imperialists immediately hurried towards the Polish frontier to block up the route ; Bucheim left his station, and the Oder was stripped of its defenders. Banner on a sudden, and under cloud of night, turned towards that river, and crossed it about a mile above Custring, with his troops, baggage, and artillery, without bridges or vessels, as he had done before at Furstenberg. He reached Pomerania without loss, and prepared to share with Wrangel the defence of that province.

But the Imperialists, under the command of Gallas, entered that duchy at Ribes, and overran it by their superior strength. Usedom and Wol-

gast were taken by storm, Demmin capitulated, and the Swedes were driven far into Lower Pomerania. At this moment, too, it was more important for them than ever to maintain a footing in that country, for Bogislaus XIV. had died that year, and Sweden was now determined to enforce its claims on Pomerania. To prevent the Elector of Brandenburg from establishing his claims to that dutchy, founded on the treaty of Prague, it now exerted its utmost strength, and supported its generals to the utmost, both with troops and money. In other quarters of the kingdom, too, the affairs of the Swedes began to wear a more favourable aspect, and to recover from the humiliation into which they had been thrown by the inactivity of France, and the desertion of their allies. For, after their hasty retreat into Pomerania, they had lost one place after another in Upper Saxony; the princes of Mecklenburg, pressed by the arms of the Emperor, began to lean to the side of Austria, and even George Duke of Lunenburg declared against them. Ehrenbreitstein was starved into a surrender by the Bavarian General de Werth, and the Austrians made themselves masters of all the batteries erected on the Rhine. France had been the sufferer in the contest with Spain; and the event had by no means justified the pompous preparations with which the war against that crown had commenced. Every thing which the Swedes possessed in the interior of Germany was lost; and now only the principal towns in Pomerania remained in their possession. But a single campaign rescued them from this state of humiliation; and by means of the powerful diversion of the Imperialists, effected by the victo-

rious Bernard upon the Rhine, a new aspect was at once given to the war.

The misunderstandings which had existed between France and Sweden were adjusted, and the former treaty between these powers confirmed at Hamburg, with most favourable conditions for the Swedes. In Hesse, the prudent Landgravine Amelia assumed the government, with the approbation of the States, after the death of her husband William, and resolutely maintained her rights against the opposition of the Emperor, and of the line of Darmstadt. Meantime the Swedish-Protestant party, zealously attached to their religion, awaited only a favourable opportunity, openly to declare themselves. They had succeeded by artful delays, and by prolonging the negotiation with the Emperor, in rendering him inactive till their secret alliance with France was concluded, and the victories of Duke Bernard had given a favourable turn to the affairs of the Protestants. They now at once threw off the mask, and renewed their former alliance with the Swedish crown. The Electoral Prince of the Palatinate was also incited, by the success of Bernard, to try his fortune against the common enemy. He raised troops in Holland with English money, formed a magazine at Meppen, and joined the Swedes in Westphalia. His magazine was lost; his army defeated near Flotha by Count Hatzfeld; but his attempt had for some time occupied the attention of the enemy, and facilitated the operations of the Swedes in other quarters. Other friends began to appear as fortune declared in their favour; and the circumstance, that the States of Lower Saxony embraced

a neutrality, would have been itself no inconsiderable advantage for their affairs.

Favoured by these important advantages, and reinforced by 14,000 fresh troops from Sweden and Livonia, Banner opened, with the most favourable prospects, the campaign of 1638. The Imperialists who were in possession of Upper Pomerania and Mecklenburg, in a great measure abandoned their positions, or surrendered in crowds to the Swedes, to escape the miseries of famine, the worst of enemies in an exhausted country. The whole country betwixt the Elbe and the Oder was so desolated by the past marchings and quarterings of the troops, that Banner, to enable him to penetrate into Saxony and Bohemia, and to support his army on its march, was obliged to take a circuitous route from Lower Pomerania into Lower Saxony, and then into the Electorate of Saxony through the territory of Halberstadt. The impatience of the Lower Saxon States to be freed from such guests, procured him so plentiful a supply of provisions, that he was provided with bread in Magdeburg itself—a place where famine had even overcome the natural antipathy of men to human-flesh. He threw Saxony into consternation by his approach; but his views were directed not against this exhausted country, but against the Imperial hereditary dominions. The victories of Bernard encouraged him, while his desire of plunder was excited by the prosperity of the Austrian provinces. After defeating the Imperial General Salis at Elsterburg, totally routing the Saxon army at Chemnitz, and taking Pirna, he penetrated with irresistible impetuosity into Bohemia, crossed the Elbe, threatened Prague, took Brandeis and Leut-

meritz, defeated General Hofkirchen with ten regiments, and spread terror and devastation through that defenceless kingdom. Booty was his sole object, and whatever could not be carried off was destroyed. In order to carry off the more corn, the ears were cut from the stalks, and these burned. More than a thousand castles, hamlets and villages, were laid in ashes; sometimes more than a hundred were destroyed in a single night. From Bohemia he crossed into Silesia, and even Moravia and Austria were destined to feel the effect of his ravages. But to prevent this, Count Hatzfeld from Westphalia, and Piccolomini from the Netherlands, were obliged to hasten into this quarter. The Archduke Leopold, a brother of the Emperor, took the command to repair the errors of his predecessor Gallas, and to raise the army from the low ebb to which it had fallen.

The commencement justified the change, and the campaign of 1640 appeared to have taken a most unfortunate turn for the Swedes. They were driven out of one quarter after another into Bohemia, and anxious only to secure their plunder, they precipitately crossed the heights of Meissen. But being followed into Saxony by the pursuing enemy, and defeated at Plauen, they were obliged to take refuge in Thuringia. Having by a single campaign acquired the preponderance in the field, they again lost their advantage as rapidly; but only to acquire it a second time, and to pass from the extremity of defeat, to the summit of success. The weakened army of Banner on the brink of destruction in its camp at Erfurt, suddenly recovered itself. The Duke of Lunenburg abandoned the treaty of Prague, and brought to the assistance of

Banner the very troops which, the year before, had fought against him. Hesse Cassel sent reinforcements, and the Duke of Longueville, with the army of the late Duke Bernard, joined him. Once more superior in numbers to the Imperialists, Banner again offered them battle near Saalfeld; but their leader Piccolomini prudently avoided a contest, and had chosen a position too strong to be forced. When the Bavarians at length separated from the Imperialists, and marched towards Franconia, Banner attempted an attack upon this divided corps, but the attempt was frustrated by the skill of the Bavarian General Von Merrig, and the near approach of the main army of the Imperialists. Both armies now moved into the exhausted territory of Hesse, where they formed intrenched camps near each other, till at last famine and the severity of the winter drove them from this desolated province. Piccolomini chose the fertile banks of the Weser for his winter-quarters; but being outflanked by Banner, he was obliged to give way to the Swedes, and to impose on the Bishopric of Franconia the burden of maintaining his army.

At this period a diet was held in Ratisbon, where the complaints of the States were to be heard, measures taken for the repose of the empire, and the question as to peace or war finally decided. The presence of the Emperor, the majority of the Catholic voices in the Electoral College, and the defection of several of the Protestant votes, gave the Emperor a complete command of the deliberations of the assembly, and rendered this diet any thing but a representation of the opinions of the German empire. The Protestants, with reason, considered it as a mere combination

of Austria and its creatures against their party ; and it seemed to them a laudable effort to interrupt its deliberations, and to dissolve the diet itself.

Banner undertook this bold enterprise. His military reputation had suffered by his last retreat from Bohemia, and some great exploit was necessary to restore it to its former lustre. Without confiding his plan to any one, he, in the very depth of the winter of 1641, left his quarters in Lunenburg as soon as the roads and rivers were frozen. Accompanied by Marshal Guebriant, who commanded the armies of France and Weimar, he directed his march towards the Danube, through Thuringia and Vogtland, and appeared before Ratisbon ere the Diet were aware of his approach. The consternation of the assembled states was indescribable ; and in their first alarm, the whole of the ambassadors prepared for flight. The Emperor alone declared, that he would not leave the town, and encouraged the rest by his example. Unfortunately for the Swedes a thaw came on, which broke up the ice upon the Danube, and rendered the river impassable, either on foot or by boats, on account of the quantities of ice which were swept down by the current. In order to humble the pride of the Emperor, Banner rudely fired 500 cannon-shots into the town, which, however, did little mischief. Baffled in this attempt, he now resolved to penetrate farther into Bohemia, and the defenceless province of Moravia, where a rich booty and comfortable quarters awaited his troops. Guebriant, however, began to fear that the purpose of the Swedes

was to draw the Weimar army farther and farther from the Rhine, and to cut off its connexion with France, till it should be placed entirely at their disposal, or incapacitated from doing any thing of itself. He, therefore, separated from Banner to return to the Maine ; and the latter saw himself exposed to the whole Imperial army, which had been silently collected between Ratisbon and Ingolstadt, and was on its march against him. It was now time to think of a rapid retreat, which, having to be effected in the face of an army superior in cavalry, and betwixt woods and rivers, through a country entirely hostile, appeared almost impracticable. He hastily retired towards the forest, intending to penetrate through Bohemia into Saxony ; but he was obliged to leave behind him three regiments at Neuburg. These, with a truly Spartan courage, defended themselves for four days behind the shelter of an old wall, and gained time for Banner to escape. He retreated by Egra to Annaberg ; Piccolomini pursued him by a nearer route, by Schlackenwald : and Banner succeeded only by a single half hour in clearing the Pass of Prsnitz, and saving his whole army from the Imperialists. At Zwickau he was again joined by Guebriant ; and both generals directed their march towards Halberstadt, after in vain attempting to defend the Saal, and to prevent the passage of the Imperialists.

Banner, at length, terminated his career at Halberstadt, in May 1641, a victim to vexation and disappointment. He maintained with distinguished reputation, though with various success, the character of the Swedish arms in Germany, and,

by a series of victorious actions, showed himself worthy of his great instructor. He was fertile in expedients, which he planned with the greatest secrecy, and executed with boldness; cautious in the midst of dangers, greater in adversity than in good fortune, and never more formidable than when upon the brink of destruction. But the virtues of the hero were united with all the feelings and vices which are created or fostered by a military life. As imperious in private life as he was at the head of his army, with all the rudeness of his profession and all the pride of a conqueror; he disgusted the German princes no less by his haughtiness, than he exhausted their country by the contributions which he levied. After the toils of war, he indulged in the pleasures of the table, till he atoned for these excesses by a premature death. But devoted as he was to pleasure, like Alexander or Mahomet the Second, he hurried from its arms into the severest toils of war, and placed himself in all his vigour at the head of his army, while his soldiers were murmuring at his luxurious excesses. Nearly 80,000 men fell in the numerous battles which he fought, and about 600 hostile standards and colours, which he sent to Stockholm, were the trophies of his victories. The loss of this great general was soon severely felt by the Swedes, who feared, with justice, that his loss would not easily be supplied. The spirit of rebellion and insubordination which had been overawed by the imperious demeanour of this formidable general, awoke upon his death. The officers, with an alarming unanimity, demanded their arrears, and none of the four generals who shared the command after Banner's death possessed in-

fluence enough to satisfy these demands, or to silence the malcontents. Military discipline was at an end, increasing want, and the Imperial citations were daily diminishing the number of the army, the troops of France and Weimar showed little zeal, those of Lunenburg abandoned the Swedish standards, as the Princes of the House of Brunswick, after the death of Duke George, had entered into a treaty with the Emperor, and at last even those of Hesse quitted them, to seek better quarters in Westphalia. The enemy profited by these destructive divisions ; and although defeated in two battles, succeeded in making a considerable progress in Lower Saxony.

At length appeared the new Swedish generalissimo with fresh troops and money. This was Bernard Torstensohn, a pupil of Gustavus Adolphus, and his most successful imitator, who had been his page during the Polish war. Though a martyr to the gout, he surpassed all his opponents in activity ; and his enterprises seemed to move with wings, while his body was fettered by disease. Under him the scene of war was changed, and new maxims adopted, which were dictated by necessity, and justified by the event. All the territories were exhausted in which the contest had hitherto raged ; while the House of Austria, safe in its more distant territories, felt not the miseries of the war under which the rest of Germany groaned. It was Torstensohn who first taught them that bitter experience, who glutted his Swedes with the fertile produce of Austria, and hurled the torch of war even to the very footsteps of the Imperial throne.

In Silesia, the enemy had gained considerable

advantages over the Swedish general Stalhantsch, and driven him as far as Neumark. Torstensohn, who had joined the main army of the Swedes in Lunenburg, ordered him to join him, and in the year 1642, penetrated hastily through Brandenburg, which, under the great Elector, had begun to maintain an armed neutrality, into Silesia. Glogau was taken, sword in hand, without a breach, and without any formal approach, the Duke Francis Albert of Lauenburg, defeated and killed at Schweidnitz; and Schweidnitz itself, with almost all the towns on that side the Oder, taken. He now penetrated with irresistible force into the interior of Moravia, where no enemy of Austria had hitherto appeared, took Olmutz, and threw Vienna itself into consternation.

But, in the mean time, Piccolomini and the Archduke Leopold had collected a superior force, which speedily drove the Swedish conquerors from Moravia, and after a fruitless attempt upon Brieg, from Silesia. Reinforced by Wrangel, they again attempted to make head against the enemy, and relieved Grossglogau; but could neither bring the enemy to a battle, nor carry into effect their own views upon Bohemia. They now overran Lusatia, where they took Zittau in sight of the enemy, and, after a short stay in that country, directed their march towards the Elbe, which they passed at Torgau. Torstensohn now threatened Leipsic with a siege, and hoped to raise a large supply of provisions and contributions from that prosperous town.

The Imperialists, under Leopold and Piccolomini, immediately hastened by Dresden to its re-

lief, and Torstensohn, to avoid being enclosed between this army and the town, boldly advanced to meet them in order of battle. By a strange coincidence of circumstances, they met precisely upon the spot which Gustavus Adolphus had rendered remarkable by a decisive victory eleven years before ; and the heroism of their predecessors, now excited the Swedes to emulate their example on this consecrated ground. The Swedish generals, Stahlhantsch and Wellenberg, threw themselves with such impetuosity upon the left wing of the Imperialists, which was not yet completely formed, that the whole cavalry that covered it were routed and rendered useless. But the left of the Swedes was threatened with a similar fate, when the victorious right advanced to its assistance, took the enemy in flank and rear, and divided the Austrian line. The infantry on both sides stood firm as a wall, maintaining the combat after their ammunition was exhausted, with the butt-ends of their muskets, till at last the Imperialists, surrounded upon all sides, were compelled, after a contest of three hours, to abandon the field. The Generals on both sides did every thing in their power to rally their fugitives ; and the Archduke Leopold with his regiment was the first in the attack, and last in flight. But this bloody victory cost the Swedes more than 3000 men, and two of their best generals, Schlangen and Lilienhoeck. More than 5000 of the Imperialists were left upon the field, and nearly as many taken prisoners. Their whole artillery, consisting of 46 cannon, the silver plate and archives of the Archduke, with the whole baggage of the army, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Torstensohn, too much weaken-

ed by his victory to pursue the enemy, moved upon Leipzig. The defeated army retired into Bohemia, where its flying regiments reassembled. The Archduke Leopold could not recover from the vexation produced by this defeat; and the regiment of cavalry which, by its premature flight, had occasioned the disaster, experienced the effects of his indignation. At Raconitz in Bohemia, in presence of the rest of the army, he publicly declared it infamous, deprived it of its horses, arms, and insignia, ordered its standards to be torn, condemned several of the officers to death, and decimated the private men.

Leipzig, which surrendered three weeks after the battle, was the brilliant result of this victory. The city was obliged to clothe the Swedish troops anew, and was obliged to purchase an exemption from plunder, by a contribution of 300,000 rix-dollars, to which the foreign merchants, who had warehouses in the city, were obliged to contribute. Torstensohn advanced in the middle of winter against Freyberg, and bade defiance to the inclemency of the season for several weeks before the town, hoping by his perseverance to vanquish the obstinacy of the besieged. But he found that he was merely sacrificing his troops; and the approach of the Imperial General Piccolomini compelled him, with his weakened army, to retire. He considered it as an advantage, however, that he had succeeded in disturbing the repose of the enemy in their winter quarters, who, by the inclemency of the season, had thus sustained a loss of 3000 horses. He now made a movement towards the Oder, as if with the view of reinforcing himself at the garrisons in Pomerania and Silesia;

but, with the rapidity of lightning, he again appeared upon the Bohemian frontier, penetrated through that kingdom, and relieved Olmutz in Moravia, which was hard pressed by the Imperialists. From his camp at Doditschau, two miles from Olmutz, he commanded the whole of Moravia, levied the severest contributions, and extended his ravages almost to the gates of Vienna. In vain did the Emperor attempt to arm the Hungarian nobility in defence of this province; they appealed to their privileges, and refused to serve beyond the limits of their own country. Thus, the time that should have been spent in active resistance, was lost in fruitless negotiation, till the entire province fell into the hands of the Swedes.

While Bernard Torstensohn, by his marches and his victories, astonished friend and foe, the armies of the allies had not been inactive in other quarters of the empire. The troops of Hesse and Weimar, under Count Eberstein and the Marechal de Guebriant, had fallen into the Electorate of Cologne, in order to take up their winter quarters there. In order to rid himself of these troublesome guests, the Elector summoned to his assistance the Imperial General Hatsfeldt, and assembled his own troops under General Lamboy. The latter was attacked by the allies in January 1642, and defeated in a decisive action near Kempen, with the loss of about 2000 men killed, and about twice that number taken prisoners. This important victory opened to them the whole Electorate and neighbouring territories, so that the allies were not only enabled to maintain their winter quarters there, but to derive from the country large supplies of men and horses.

Guebriant left to the Hessians the task of defending their possessions on the Lower Rhine against Hatzfeldt, and advanced towards Thuringia, as if to second the operations of Torstensohn in Saxony. But instead of joining the Swedes, he soon hurried back to the Rhine and the Maine, from which he seemed to think that he was already too far removed. But being anticipated in the Landgraviate of Baden by the Bavarians under Mercy and John De Werth, he was obliged to wander about for several weeks, exposed, without shelter, to the inclemency of the winter, and generally encamping upon the snow, till he found a miserable refuge in Breisgau. He appeared indeed in the field the next summer, and kept the Bavarian army employed in Suabia, so as to prevent it from relieving Thionville, which was then besieged by Condé. But he was soon after driven back to Alsace by the superiority of the enemy, where he remained awaiting a reinforcement.

The death of Cardinal Richelieu took place in November 1642, and the subsequent change in the succession, and in the ministry, occasioned by the death of Louis XIII., had for some time withdrawn the attention of France from the German war, and had been the cause of this inactivity in the field. But Mazarine, the inheritor of Richelieu's power, his principles, and his projects, followed out with renewed zeal the plans of his predecessor, though the French subject was thus destined to pay dearly for the political greatness of France. The main strength of its armies, which Richelieu had employed against the Spaniards, was directed by Mazarine against the Emperor; and the anxiety with which he carried on the

war in Germany, proved the sincerity of the opinion which he expressed, that the German army was the right arm of his King, and a wall of safety around France. Immediately after the taking of Thionville, he despatched a considerable reinforcement to Field-Marshal Guebriant in Alsace; and to induce the troops more willingly to bear the fatigues of the German war, the celebrated victor of Rocroi, the Duke of Enguien, afterwards Prince of Condé, was placed in person at their head. Guebriant now felt himself strong enough to appear again in Germany with reputation. He hastened across the Rhine with the view of procuring better winter-quarters in Suabia, and actually made himself master of Rothweil, where a Bavarian magazine fell into his hands. But the place was too dearly purchased, and was again lost with even greater rapidity than it had been acquired. Guebriant received a wound in the arm, which was rendered mortal by the unskilfulness of his surgeon, and the extent of his loss became evident from the very day of his death.

The French army, visibly diminished in numbers by an expedition at this severe season of the year, had, after the taking of Rothweil, withdrawn into the neighbourhood of Duttlingen, where they lay in complete security, without any expectation of a hostile attack. In the meantime the enemy collected a considerable force to prevent the French from establishing themselves beyond the Rhine, and so near to Bavaria, as to protect that quarter from their ravages. The Imperialists under Hatzfeldt formed a junction with the Bavarians under Mercy; and the Duke of Lorraine, who, during the whole course of the war is generally

found every where except in his own dutchy, joined their united forces. It was resolved to beat up the quarters of the French in Duttlingen and the neighbouring villages; a favourite species of expedition in this war, which, as it was always necessarily accompanied with confusion, generally cost more bloodshed than a pitched battle. They felt themselves the more at home, as the French soldiers, unaccustomed to such enterprises, conceived themselves protected by the severity of the winter against any surprise. John De Werth, who was esteemed a master in this species of warfare, which he had been accustomed to put in practice against Gustavus Horn, conducted the enterprise, and, contrary to all expectation, was successful.

The attack was made on a side where it was least expected, on account of the woods and narrow passes, and a heavy snow which fell upon the same day, (the 24th November 1643,) concealed the approach of the vanguard till it halted in front of Duttlingen. The whole artillery without the place, as well as the neighbouring Castle of Homburg, were taken without resistance, Duttlingein gradually surrounded by the army, and all connection with the hostile quarters in the neighbouring villages silently and suddenly cut off. The French were vanquished without firing a cannon. The cavalry owed their escape to the swiftness of their horses, and the few minutes in advance, which they had gained upon their pursuers. The infantry were cut to pieces, or voluntarily laid down their arms. About 2000 men were killed, and 7000, with 25 staff-officers and 90 captains, taken prisoners. This was, perhaps, the only battle, in the whole course of the war,

which made nearly the same impression upon the party which gained and that which lost by it;—both were Germans, and it was the French who had disgraced themselves. The memory of this unfortunate day, which was renewed 100 years after at Rosbach, was indeed subsequently effaced by the heroism of a Turenne and Condé; but the Germans might be permitted to indemnify themselves for the miseries which had been heaped upon them by the policy of France, by these severe reflections upon her intrepidity.

Meantime this defeat of the French was likely to prove destructive to Sweden, as the whole power of the Emperor might now be directed against them, while the number of their enemies was at this time increased by a formidable accession. Torstensohn had, in September 1643, suddenly left Moravia, and moved into Silesia. No one knew the cause of this step, and the frequent changes which took place in the direction of his march, contributed to increase this perplexity. From Silesia, after numberless circuits, he advanced towards the Elbe, while the Imperialists followed him into Lusatia. At Torgau he threw a bridge across the Elbe, and gave out that he intended to penetrate through Meissen into the Upper Palatinate in Bavaria; at Barby, he also made a movement as if to pass that river, but continued to move down the Elbe as far as Havelberg, where he astonished his troops by informing them that it was his intention to lead them against the Danes in Holstein.

The spirit of partiality which Christian IV. had displayed against the Swedes in his capacity of mediator, the jealousy with which he laboured to

hinder the progress of their arms, the obstacles which he threw in the way of the Swedish navigation in the Sound, and the burdens which he imposed upon their commerce, had long excited the indignation of this crown; and at last, when these grievances continued daily to increase, had determined them to revenge. Dangerous as it seemed to involve themselves in a new war, while Sweden, even amidst all her conquests, was almost exhausted by the old, their desire of revenge, and the deep-rooted hatred which subsisted between Denmark and Sweden, prevailed over all these considerations; and even the embarrassment in which they were placed by the war in Germany, acted as an additional inducement to try their fortune against Denmark.

Matters had in fact come to that extremity, that the war was continued merely for the purpose of furnishing food and employment to the troops, that the advantage of winter-quarters formed the chief subject of contention; and that success, in this particular, was more valued than a decisive victory. But now almost all the provinces of the German empire were exhausted and laid waste. Provisions, horses and men, were wanting; and of all these, a profusion was to be found in Holstein. If they should merely succeed in recruiting their army in that province, providing subsistence for the horses and soldiers, and remounting the cavalry, the danger and difficulty of the attempt would be well repaid. It was, besides, of the highest importance, now that the negotiations for peace were commencing, to diminish the injurious influence of Denmark upon these delibera-

tions, to delay the pacification itself, which seemed to be unfavourable to the Swedish crown, by sowing confusion among the parties interested, and, in reference to the question of indemnification, to increase as much as possible the number of her conquests, in order the more securely to preserve those alone which she was anxious to retain. The state of the Danish kingdom at this time justified even greater hopes, could the attempt only be executed with rapidity and silence. The secret was in fact so well kept in Stockholm, that the Danish minister had not the slightest suspicion of it; and neither France nor Holland were admitted into the secret. Hostilities commenced without any previous declaration of war; and Torstensohn was in Holstein before any attack was expected. The Swedish troops, meeting with no resistance, poured like an inundation through this dutchy, and made themselves master of every strong place, with the exception of Rensburg and Gluckstadt. Another army penetrated into Schonen, which made scarcely any greater resistance; and nothing but the severity of the weather prevented their leader from passing the Lesser Baltic, and carrying the war into Fuhnen and Zealand. The Danish fleet was unsuccessful at Femern; and Christian himself, who was on board, lost his right eye by a splinter. Cut off from all communication with the distant force of the Emperor his ally, this King was on the point of seeing his whole kingdom overrun by the Swedes; and the old prophecy of the celebrated Tycho Brahe appeared likely to be fulfilled, that in the year 1644, Christian IV. should wander in the greatest misery from his dominions.

But the Emperor could not with indifference behold Denmark sacrificed to Sweden, and the latter enriched by the spoils of the former kingdom. Though great difficulties lay in the way of so long a march through desolated provinces, he did not hesitate to despatch Count Gallas, who, after Piccolomini's retirement, had resumed the supreme command of the troops, with an army into Holstein. Gallas actually appeared in this dutchy, took Keil, and hoped, by a junction with the Danes, to shut up the Swedish army in Jutland. Meantime the Hessians and the Swedish General Koenigsmark were kept in check by Hatzfeldt and the Archbishop of Bremen, the son of Christian IV. ; and the latter drawn into Saxony by an attack upon Meissen. But Torstensohn, with his newly augmented army, penetrated through the unoccupied pass betwixt Schleswig and Stapelholm, met Gallas, and drove him along the whole course of the Elbe as far as Bernburg, where the Imperialists formed a fortified camp. Torstensohn passed the Saal, and took up a position in the rear of the enemy, so as to cut off their communication with Saxony and Bohemia. Famine then found its way into their camp, and destroyed the greater part of the army ; nor was their wretched situation much bettered by their retreat to Magdeburg. The cavalry, which attempted to escape into Silesia, was overtaken and routed by Torstensohn near Juterbock ; the rest of the army, after an ineffectual attempt to force its way sword in hand, was almost totally destroyed near Magdeburg. Of all his formidable force, Gallas brought back only a few thousand men, and the reputation of being a consummate master

in the art of ruining an army. After this unsuccessful attempt to relieve him, the King of Denmark sued for peace, which he obtained at Bremsebor in the year 1645, but under the most unfavourable conditions.

Torstensohn followed up his victory; and, while Axel Lilienstern, one of the generals who commanded under him, overawed Saxony, and Koenigsmark subdued the whole of Bremen, he himself penetrated into Bohemia with 16,000 men and 80 cannon, and endeavoured a second time to remove the war into the hereditary dominions of Austria. Ferdinand, upon this intelligence, hastened to Prague in person, in order to animate the courage of the people by his presence; and as a skilful general was so much wanted, and so little unanimity prevailed among the numerous leaders, he hoped to be able to act with more energy and activity in the immediate neighbourhood of the theatre of war. By his directions, Hatzfeldt assembled the whole Austrian and Bavarian force, and, contrary to his own inclination and advice, formed the Emperor's last army, and the last bulwark of his states, in order of battle before the approaching enemy at Jankowitz, on the 24th of February 1645. Ferdinand depended upon his cavalry, which was more numerous by 3000 than that of the enemy, and upon the promise of the Virgin Mary, who had appeared to him in a dream, and given him assurance of a complete victory.

Torstensohn, who was not accustomed to number his antagonists, was not intimidated by the superiority of the Imperialists. Even on the very first attack the left wing, which Goetz, the General

of the League, had entangled in a very disadvantageous position among marshes and thickets; was thrown into complete disorder, the General, with the greater part of his men, killed, and nearly the whole ammunition of the army taken. This unfortunate commencement decided the fate of the day. The Swedes, constantly pressing forward, made themselves masters of the important eminences. After a bloody contest of eight hours, a desperate attack on the part of the Imperial cavalry, and a vigorous resistance by the infantry, they remained in possession of the field. 2000 Austrians were killed upon the spot, and Hatzfeldt himself, with 3000 men, taken prisoners. Thus, on the same day, did the Emperor lose his best general and his last army.

This decisive victory at Jancowitz, at once threw open to the enemy all the territory of Austria. Ferdinand hastily fled to Vienna, to provide for the defence of that capital, and to save himself, his family, and his treasures. The victorious Swedes soon poured, like an inundation, into Moravia and Austria. After they had subdued nearly the whole of Moravia, invested Brunn, taken possession of almost all the strong places and towns upon the Danube, and carried the intrenchments at the Wolf's-Bridge, near Vienna; they at last appeared in sight of that capital, and the care which they took to fortify their conquests showed that their visit was likely to be one of some length. After a long and destructive circuit through every province of Germany, the stream of war had at last rolled backwards to its source, and the roar of the Swedish artillery now reminded the terrified

inhabitants of those balls which the Bohemian rebels had, twenty-seven years ago, fired into Vienna. Similar actors too re-appeared upon the same theatre of war. Torstensohn invited Ragotsky, the successor of Bethlem Gabor, to his assistance, as the Bohemian rebels had solicited that of his predecessor; Upper Hungary was already inundated by his troops, and his union with the Swedes was daily apprehended. John George of Saxony, driven to despair by the Swedes taking up their quarters within his territories, now adopted the last and only expedient which remained to him, that of concluding a truce with Sweden, which was to be renewed from year to year till a general peace. The Emperor thus lost a friend, while a new enemy was making his appearance upon his frontier, and his confederates in other quarters of Germany were defeated. The French army had effaced the disgrace of the defeat at Deutlingen by a brilliant campaign, and had given employment to the whole force of Bavaria upon the Rhine and in Suabia. Reinforced with fresh troops from France, which the great Turenne, already distinguished by his victories in Italy, brought to the assistance of the Duke of Enguien; they appeared on the 4th of August 1644, before Friburg, which had been lately taken by Mercy, and which was now covered by him with his whole army strongly intrenched. But all the impetuous valour of the French was exerted in vain against the firmness of the Bavarians, and the Duke of Enguien was compelled to retreat after a fruitless sacrifice of 6000 men. Mazarine shed tears over this great loss, which Condé, who had no feeling for any thing but glory, disregarded. "A single night

in Paris," said he, "gives birth to more men than this action has destroyed." The Bavarians, however, were so much exhausted by this murderous battle, that, far from being in a condition to relieve Austria, they were not even able to defend the banks of the Rhine. Spires, Worms and Manheim, surrendered; the strong fortress of Philipsburg was taken by famine; and Mentz itself hastened, by a timely submission, to disarm the conquerors.

Austria and Moravia, however, were now freed from Torstensohn, as they had formerly been from the Bohemians. Ragotzky, at the head of 25,000 men, had penetrated into the neighbourhood of the Swedish camp upon the Danube. But these rude and undisciplined bands merely laid waste the country, and increased the distress which was already felt in the Swedish camp, instead of seconding the operations of Torstensohn by any vigorous enterprise. To extort tribute from the Emperor, and money and effects from his subjects, was the object which called Ragotzky, like his predecessor Bethlem Gabor, into the field; and both departed as soon as their object was attained. Ferdinand, in order to get quit of him, granted the barbarian whatever he asked, and, by a small sacrifice, freed his states of this formidable enemy.

In the meantime, the main force of the Swedes had been greatly weakened by a tedious encampment before Brunn. Torstensohn, who commanded in person, exhausted for four entire months his whole knowledge of military tactics in vain; the obstinacy of the resistance was equal to that of the attack; while the courage of the commandant, a Swedish deserter, who had no pardon to hope for,

was excited by despair. The ravages caused by pestilential disorders, arising from famine, want of cleanliness, and the use of unripe fruit during their tedious encampment, with the sudden retreat of the Prince of Transylvania, at last compelled the Swedish leader to raise the siege. As all the passes upon the Danube were occupied, and his army greatly weakened by famine and sickness, he at last abandoned his enterprise against Austria and Moravia, and contented himself with securing a key to these provinces, by leaving behind him Swedish garrisons in the conquered fortresses. He then directed his march into Bohemia, whither he was followed by the Imperialists under the Archduke Leopold. Such places as had not been taken by the latter, were recovered, after his departure, by the Austrian General Bucheim ; so that, in the course of the following year, the Austrian frontier was again cleared of the enemy, and Vienna escaped with the alarm which it had undergone. In Bohemia and Silesia too, the fortunes of the Swedes were very variable ; they traversed both countries without being able to maintain themselves in either. But if the designs of Torstensohn were not accompanied with all the success which they were at first promised, they were at least productive of the most important consequences to the Swedish party. Denmark had been compelled to a peace, Saxony to a truce. The Emperor had been rendered more accommodating in the deliberations for a peace, and Sweden itself, bolder and more confident in its bearing towards these crowns. Having thus nobly performed his duty, the author of these advantages retired, adorned with laurels, in-

to the tranquillity of private life, and endeavoured, by retirement, to regain his health.

By the retreat of Torstensohn, the Emperor was relieved from an irruption on the side of Bohemia. But a new danger soon threatened the Austrian frontier from Swabia and Bavaria. Turenne who had separated from Condé, and gone into Swabia, had, in the year 1645, been totally defeated by Mercy near Mergentheim ; and the victorious Bavarians, under their brave leader, poured into Hesse. But the Duke of Enguien, immediately hastened with considerable succours from Alsace to Koenigsmark from Moravia, and the Hessians from the Rhine, to recruit the defeated army, and the Bavarians were once more driven back to the extremity of Suabia. They at last posted themselves at the village of Allersheim, near Nordlingen, in order to cover the Bavarian frontier. But the impetuosity of the Duke of Enguien was intimidated by no obstacle. He led forward his troops against the hostile batteries, and a battle took place, which the heroic resistance of the Bavarians rendered most obstinate and bloody : till at last the death of the great Mercy, the skill of Turenne, and the iron firmness of the Hessians, decided the day in favour of the allies. But even this second barbarous sacrifice of life had little influence on the course of the war, or the negotiations for peace. The French army, exhausted by this bloody contest, was still farther weakened by the departure of the Hessians, and the Bavarians being reinforced by the Archduke Leopold, Turenne was again obliged hastily to recross the Rhine.

The retreat of the French enabled the enemy to

turn their whole force against the Swedes in Bohemia. Gustavus Wrangel, no unworthy successor of Banner and Torstensohn, had, in the year 1646, obtained the supreme command of the Swedish army, which, besides the flying corps of Koenigsmark, and the numerous garrisons dispersed throughout the empire, amounted to about 8000 horse, and 15,000 foot. The Archduke, after reinforcing his army, which amounted to 24,000 men, with twelve Bavarian regiments of cavalry, and eighteen regiments of infantry, moved against Wrangel, in hopes of being able to overwhelm him by his superiority, before Koenigsmark could join him, or the French effect a diversion in his favour. Wrangel, however, did not await his arrival, but hurried through Upper Saxony to the Weser, where he took Hoester and Paderborn. From thence he moved into Hesse, in order to form a junction with Turenne, and, at his camp at Weimar, was joined by the flying corps of Koenigsmark. But Turenne, restrained by the orders of Mazarine, who had beheld with jealousy the warlike prowess and increasing pride of the Swedes, excused himself on account of the pressing necessity of defending the frontier of France on the side of the Netherlands, as the Flemings had this year failed to make the diversion which they promised. But as Wrangel continued to press his demand with vigour, and a longer opposition might have excited the suspicions of the Swedes, or induce them to conclude a private treaty with Austria, Turenne at last obtained the wished for permission to join the Swedish army.

The junction took place at Giessen, and they now felt themselves strong enough to make head

against the enemy. The latter had followed the Swedes into Hesse, in order to cut off their provisions, and to prevent their union with Turenne. In both these attempts they had been unsuccessful ; and the Imperialists now saw themselves cut off from the Maine, and exposed to the greatest want from the loss of their magazines. Wrangel availed himself of their weakness to execute an enterprise, by which he hoped to give a new direction to the war. He, too, had adopted the maxim of his predecessor, to carry the war into the Austrian States. But dismayed by the unfortunate issue of Torstensohn's enterprise, he hoped to gain his end with more certainty and effect by another way. He resolved to follow the course of the Danube, and to penetrate into the Austrian territories through the midst of Bavaria. A similar plan had been purposed by Gustavus Adolphus, which he had been unable to execute, from the approach of Wallenstein's army, and the danger of Saxony. Duke Bernard moving in his footsteps, and more fortunate than Gustavus Adolphus, had spread his victorious banners between the Iser and the Inn ; but he too was arrested in his course, and was compelled to retire before an enemy superior in number. Wrangel now hoped to accomplish the object in which his predecessors had failed, the more so as the Imperial and Bavarian army was far in his rear upon the Lahn, and could only reach Bavaria by a long march through Franconia and the Upper Palatinate. He moved hastily upon the Danube, defeated a Bavarian corps near Donauwerth, and passed that river as well as the Lech without resistance. But by the unsuccessful siege of Augsburg he gave the

Imperialists time, not only to relieve that city, but also to repulse him as far as Lauingen. No sooner, however, had they turned towards Swabia, in order to remove the war from the Bavarian frontier, than he seized the opportunity, repassed the Lech, and maintained the passage against the Imperialists themselves. Bavaria now lay open and defenceless before him ; the French and Swedes poured into it like a torrent, and the soldier indemnified himself for the dangers he had undergone, by the most frightful outrages, robberies, and extortions. The arrival of the Imperial troops, who at last succeeded in passing the Lech at Thierhaupten, only increased the misery of this country, which was plundered without distinction by friend and foe.

And now, for the first time during the whole course of this war, the courage of Maximilian, which had stood unshaken amidst the calamities of eight-and-twenty years, began to waver. Ferdinand II., his [school-companion at Ingolstadt, and the friend of his youth, was no more ; and with the death of this friend and benefactor, were dissolved the strongest ties which had linked the Elector to the House of Austria. To the father he had been attached by habit, by inclination, and by gratitude ; the son was a stranger to his heart, and with him he was connected by no other ties than those of state policy.

These accordingly were the motives which the artifices of France now put in operation, in order to detach him from the Austrian alliance, and to induce him to lay down his arms. It was not without important reasons, that Mazarine had so far concealed his jealousy of the increasing power

of Sweden, as to allow the French to accompany the Swedes into Bavaria. His intention was, that Bavaria should be exposed to all the horrors of war, in order that the stubbornness of Maximilian might be subdued by necessity and despair, and the Emperor deprived of his first and last ally. Brandenburg had, under its great sovereign, embraced the neutrality; Saxony had been compelled to do so from necessity; the war in France prevented the Spaniards from taking any part in that of Germany; Denmark had withdrawn from the theatre of war after the peace with Sweden; and Poland had been disarmed by a long truce. If they could succeed in detaching the Elector of Bavaria also from the Austrian alliance, the Emperor would be left, without a friend in Germany, at the mercy of the allied powers.

Ferdinand III. perceived the danger in which he stood, and left no means untried to avert it. But the Elector of Bavaria had been persuaded that the Spaniards alone were disinclined to peace, and that Spanish influence alone induced the Emperor to resist a cessation of hostilities. Maximilian hated the Spaniards, and had never forgiven their opposition to his claims on the Palatine Electorate. Could it then be supposed that, in order to gratify this hostile power, he should see his people sacrificed, his country laid waste, and his own fortunes ruined, when, by a cessation of hostilities, he might relieve himself from all these distresses, procure for his people the repose of which they stood so much in need, and perhaps accelerate the arrival of a general peace? All doubts disappeared; and, convinced of the necessity of

this step, he thought he sufficiently fulfilled his duty to the Emperor, if he procured for him also the benefit of the truce. The deputies of the three Crowns and of Bavaria met at Ulm to adjust the conditions of the cessation of hostilities. But it was soon evident, from the instructions of the Austrian ambassador, that it was not the intention of the Emperor to further this object, but if possible to prevent it. It was obviously necessary to render the truce acceptable to the Swedes, who had the advantage, and had more to hope than to fear from the continuation of the war, instead of endeavouring to render it obnoxious to them by harsh conditions. They were the conquerors; and yet the Emperor ventured to dictate to them. In the first transports of their indignation, the Swedish ambassadors were on the point of leaving the Congress, and the French were the first to have recourse to threats in order to detain them.

The Elector of Bavaria having thus failed in his good intentions to include the Emperor in the benefit of the truce, now thought himself justified in attending to his own interests. Though the truce was to be dearly purchased, he did not hesitate to accede to the conditions. He agreed to allow the Swedes to extend their quarters in Swabia and Franconia, and to confine his own to Bavaria and the Palatinate. The conquests which he had made in Swabia were ceded to the allies, who, on their part, restored to him what they had taken from Bavaria. Cologne and Hesse Cassel were also included in the truce. After the conclusion of this treaty, upon the 14th March 1647, the French and Swedes left Bavaria, and, in order not

to interfere with each other, took up different quarters, the former in the Dutchy of Wurtemberg, the latter in Upper Swabia, in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Bode. On the extreme north of this Lake, and on the most southern frontier of Swabia, the Austrian town of Bregentz, by its steep and narrow passes, seemed to bid defiance to every attack; and accordingly, the whole surrounding peasantry had taken refuge with their property in this natural fortress. The rich booty which the store of provisions it contained gave reason to expect, and the advantage of possessing a pass into the Tyrol, Switzerland, and Italy, induced the Swedish general to venture an attack upon this supposed impregnable pass and town. Meantime Turenne, according to agreement, had marched into Wurtemberg, where he compelled the Landgrave of Darmstadt and the Elector of Mentz to imitate the example of Bavaria, and to embrace the neutrality.

And now, at last, the great object of the policy of France seemed to be attained, that of exposing the Emperor, deprived of the support of the League, and of his Protestant allies, to the united force of two crowns, and of dictating to him, sword in hand, the conditions of peace. An army, not exceeding 12,000, was all that remained to him of his formidable power; and this force, he was under the necessity of intrusting to the command of a Calvinist, the Hessian deserter Melander, the war having deprived him of all his best generals. But as this war had been remarkable for the sudden changes of fortune it displayed; and as every calculation of state policy had been frequently baffled by some

sudden occurrence, the issue in this case disappointed expectation ; and the fallen power of Austria, after a brief crisis, again attained a formidable superiority. The jealousy which France entertained towards Sweden, prevented it from permitting the total ruin of the Emperor, or allowing the Swedes to obtain a preponderance in Germany, which might have been destructive to France herself. Accordingly, the French minister did not avail himself of the distress of Austria ; and the army of Turenne, separating itself from that of Wrangel, withdrew to the frontier of the Netherlands. Wrangel, indeed, made the attempt, after moving from Swabia into Franconia, taking Schweinfurt, and incorporating the Imperial garrison of that place with his own army, to make his way into Bohemia, and laid siege to Egra, the key of that kingdom. In order to relieve this fortress, the Emperor put his last army in motion, and placed himself at its head. But the circuit which he was obliged to take, in order to avoid the States of Von Schlick, the President of the Council of War, delayed his march ; and before his arrival, Egra was already taken. Both armies now approached each other ; and a decisive battle was expected, as both were suffering from want, as the Imperialists were superior in number, and both camps were separated from each other only by the intrenchments between them. But the Imperialists contented themselves with keeping close to the enemy, and harassing them by skirmishes, by famine, and fatiguing marches, until the negotiations which had been opened with Bavaria should be brought to a bearing.

The neutrality of Bavaria was a mortification which the Imperial Court could never pardon ; and, after in vain attempting to prevent it, they now determined, if possible, to turn it to advantage. Several officers of the Bavarian army had been irritated by the step of their master, which at once reduced them to inactivity, and imposed a burdensome restraint on their restless disposition. Even the brave John De Werth was at the head of the malcontents, and, excited by the Emperor, he formed the design of seducing the whole army from the service of the Elector, and leading it over to the Emperor. Ferdinand did not blush to patronise this act of treachery against the most trusty ally of his father. He issued formal proclamations to the Electoral troops, in which he reminded them that they were the troops of the empire, which the Elector had merely commanded in name of the Emperor. Maximilian fortunately detected the plot in sufficient time to enable him to anticipate and prevent it by the most rapid and effective measures.

This disgraceful step, on the part of the Emperor, would have justified a reprisal, but Maximilian was too old a statesman to listen to the voice of passion, where policy alone was concerned. He had failed to derive from the truce the advantages he expected. Far from tending to accelerate a general peace, this partial truce had had a pernicious influence upon the negotiations at Munster and Osnaburg, by extending the demands, and increasing the confidence of the allies. The French and Swedes had removed from Bavaria ; but, by the loss of his quarters in the Swabian Circle, he

now saw himself compelled to exhaust his own territories by the subsistence of his troops, unless he should at once resolve to disband them, and to throw aside his arms at the very moment when strength alone seemed to be the arbiter of right. But, before embracing either of these certain evils, he determined to try a third step, the issue of which was at least less certain, that of renouncing the truce and resuming the war.

This resolution, and the assistance which he immediately despatched to the Emperor in Bohemia, threatened the ruin of the Swedes, and Wrangel was compelled in haste to evacuate that country. He retired through Thuringia into Westphalia and Lunenburg, in order to form a junction with the French army under Turenne, while the Imperial and Bavarian army followed him to the Weser, under Melander and Gronsfeld. His ruin was unavoidable if he should be overtaken by the enemy before his junction with Turenne ; but the same principle which had formerly saved the Emperor, now proved the salvation of the Swedes. Even amidst all the fury of the conquest, the course of the war was guided by cold calculations of prudence, and the vigilance of the different courts increased, as the prospect of peace approached. The Elector of Bavaria could not allow the Emperor to obtain so decisive a preponderance, or the general peace to be delayed by any sudden alteration of affairs. Every change of fortune was important, now when the treaty was on the point of being concluded, and when the disturbance of the balance of power among the contracting parties, might at once annihilate the work of years, destroy the fruit of long and tedious negotiations,

and delay the repose of all Europe. If France could engage to restrain the Swedish crown within due bounds, and to indemnify the Swedes for their assistance in a fair and reasonable manner, the Elector of Bavaria silently undertook the same task with his ally the Emperor, and determined, by prudently dealing out his assistance, to retain the fate of Austria in his hands: And now that the power of the Emperor threatened once more to attain a dangerous superiority, Maximilian at once ceased to pursue the Swedes. He was also afraid of reprisals upon the part of France, which had threatened to direct Turenne's whole force against him, if he allowed his troops to cross the Weser.

Melander, prevented by the Bavarians from pursuing Wrangel, crossed by Jena and Erfurt into Hesse, and appeared as a formidable enemy in the country which he had formerly defended. If it was the desire of revenge against his former sovereign which induced him to chuse Hesse as the scene of his ravages, he gratified that passion to the utmost. Under the scourge of this tyrant, the miseries of that unfortunate country reached the height. But he soon had reason to regret that, in the choice of his quarters he had listened to the dictates of revenge, rather than of prudence. In this exhausted country his army was oppressed by want, while Wrangel was recruiting his strength, and remounting his cavalry in Lunenburg. Too weak to maintain his wretched quarters against the Swedish general, when he opened the campaign in the winter of 1648, and marched against Hesse, he was obliged to retire with disgrace, and take refuge on the banks of the Danube.

France had once more disappointed the expectations of Sweden ; and the army of Turenne, disregarding the remonstrances of Wrangel, had remained upon the Rhine. The Swedish leader revenged himself, by drawing into his service the cavalry of Weimar, which had left that of France, though, by this step, he increased, still farther, the jealousy of that power. Turenne at last received permission to join the Swedes ; and the last campaign of this eventful war, was now opened by the united armies. They drove Melander before them along the Danube, threw supplies into Egra, which was then besieged by the Imperialists, and defeated the Imperial and Bavarian armies on the Danube, which ventured to oppose them at Susmarshausen. In this action Melander was mortally wounded, and the Bavarian General Gronsfield then placed himself on the farther side of the Lech, in order to prevent the enemy's entrance into Bavaria.

But Gustavus was not more fortunate than Tilly, who, in this same position, had sacrificed his life for Bavaria. Wrangel and Turenne chose the same passage over the river, which was distinguished by the victory of Gustavus Adolphus, and accomplished it by means of the same advances which had favoured their predecessor. Bavaria was now a second time overrun, and the breach of the truce punished by the severest treatment of its inhabitants. Maximilian sought shelter in Salzburg, while the Swedes crossed the Iser, and forced their way as far as the Inn. A violent and continued rain, which in a few days swelled this inconsiderable stream into a broad river, once more saved Austria from this threatening danger. The

enemy ten times attempted to form a bridge of boats over the Inn, and as often it was destroyed by the current. Never during the whole course of the war had the terror of the Catholics been so great as at the present moment, when the enemy were in the centre of Bavaria, and where no general remained who could be opposed to a Turenne, a Wrangel, and a Koenigsmark. At last the brave Piccolomini arrived from the Netherlands to take the command of the wreck of the Imperialists. The allies had, by their own ravages in Bohemia, rendered their subsistence in that country difficult, and were at last compelled by want to retreat into the Upper Palatinate, where the news of the peace put a period to their activity.

Koenigsmark, with his flying corps, had advanced towards Bohemia, where Ernest Odowalsky, a disbanded captain, who had been disabled in the Imperial service, and then dismissed without a pension, suggested to him a plan for surprising the Lesser side of the city of Prague. Koenigsmark successfully accomplished the attempt, and acquired the reputation of closing the Thirty Years' War by its last brilliant enterprise. This decisive stroke, which vanquished at last the Emperor's irresolution, cost the Swedes only the loss of a single man. But the Old Town, the larger half of Prague, which is divided into two parts by the Moldau, by its vigorous resistance wearied out the efforts of the Palatine Charles Gustavus, the successor of Christina, who had arrived from Sweden with fresh troops, and had assembled the whole Swedish force in Bohemia and Silesia before its walls. The approach of

winter at last drove the besiegers into winter quarters, and, in the meantime, the intelligence arrived that a peace had been signed at Munster on the 24th October.

The colossal labour attending the completion of this solemn and ever memorable treaty, which is known by the name of the peace of Westphalia; the endless obstacles which were to be surmounted; the contending interests which it was necessary to reconcile; the chain of circumstances which necessarily concurred in order to terminate this tedious, but precious and permanent work of state policy; the difficulties which attended the very opening of the negotiations, maintaining them when opened amidst the ever varying vicissitudes of the war; finally concluding the conditions of peace, and still more the carrying them into execution; what were the conditions of this peace; what each contending power gained or lost by the toils and sufferings of a thirty years' war, what influence it exerted upon the general system of European policy;—these considerations must be left to another pen. The history of the peace of Westphalia constitutes a whole as important as the history of the war itself. A mere abridgment of it would reduce to a mere skeleton one of the most interesting and characteristic monuments of human policy and passions, and deprive it of every feature calculated to fix the attention of the public, for which I write, and of which I now respectfully take my leave.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION
OF
COUNTS EGMONT AND HORN,



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THE two Counts, some weeks after their arrest, were despatched to Ghent under an escort of 3000 Spanish soldiers, where they were detained in the citadel for more than eight months. Their trial took place in form, before the Council of Twelve, which had been appointed by the Duke to take cognizance of the past disturbances in Brussels, while the charge of conducting the proceedings was assigned to the Procurator-General, John

* The two pieces which follow—the Trial of Counts Egmont and Horn, and the Siege of Antwerp—were intended to form portions of the second volume of the History of the Revolt of the Netherlands, which Schiller never lived to complete. Being in no way connected with the portion of the work which is completed (the latter in particular relating to an event nearly twelve years after the date at which Schiller's History closes), we have given them a place in this volume. The Trial of the two Counts appeared for the first time in the *Thalia*, No. 8, and the Siege of Antwerp in the *Horen* for 1795.

Dubois. That against Count Egmont contained ninety different charges, that which was directed against Count Horn sixty. Every innocent action, every omission on the part of these noblemen, was construed upon the principle which Alba had established in the outset, that the two Counts, in conjunction with the Prince of Orange, had planned the downfall of the royal authority in the Netherlands, and had attempted to usurp the government of the provinces. The expulsion of Granvella, Egmont's mission to Madrid, the confederation of the Gueux, the concessions which they had made to the Protestants within their own districts: all were supposed to be connected with, and to bear reference to, this preconcerted plan. Thus the most trifling occurrences became important, and one action was darkened and discoloured by another. By thus treating every separate article as amounting to the crime of *leze-majestie*, their condemnation would be the better borne out and justified by the union of the whole.

The charges were transmitted to the prisoners, with orders to answer them in five days. After doing so, they were allowed to choose defenders and advocates, who were permitted to obtain free access to the prisoners. But as they were accused of treason, none of their friends were allowed to visit them. Count Egmont made choice of the *Seigneur de Landas*, and of some distinguished advocates in Brussels.

Their first step was to protest against the competency of the tribunal, as in their character of Knights of the Golden Fleece, they were amenable only to the jurisdiction of the King himself, as Grand Master of that order. But their protest was rejected, and

they were ordered to produce their witnesses, failing which, they were to be proceeded against *in contumaciam*. Egmont had most satisfactorily answered eighty-two of the articles of accusation; while Count Horn had refuted the charges against him clause by clause. The accusation and defence are still in existence; and, upon that defence, they would have been acquitted by any impartial tribunal. The Fiscal pressed for the production of their witnesses, and the Duke of Alba issued repeated orders to accelerate the proceedings. They delayed however, from one week to another, by renewing their protest against the competency of the tribunal. The Duke at last assigned them a term of nine days to adduce their witnesses; and, after the elapse of that period, they were to be pronounced guilty, and debarred from any farther defence.

While these proceedings were in progress, the relations and friends of the two Counts were not idle. Egmont's wife, born a Dutchess of Bavaria, addressed petitions to the German Princes of the Empire, to the Emperor, and to the King of Spain. The Countess of Horn, the mother of the imprisoned Count, who was in terms of friendship or relationship with the first reigning families in Germany, was not less active. All of them loudly protested against this illegal proceeding, and pleaded strongly the freedom of the Empire, to which Count Horn, as Count of the Empire, had special claims, the liberties of the Netherlands, and the privileges of the order of the Golden Fleece. The Countess of Egmont succeeded in interesting almost all the German Courts for her husband; the King of Spain and his Viceroy were besieged with

intercessions, which were referred by the one to the other, and laughed at by both. The Countess of Horn collected certificates from all the Knights of the Golden Fleece in Spain, Germany, and Italy, in order to prove the privileges of the order. Alba rejected them, declaring, that in the present case, they were entitled to no weight. "The crimes," he said, "of which the Counts were accused, had taken place in matters relating to the provinces of the Netherlands, and he (the Duke) had been appointed by the King sole judge in the affairs of the Netherlands."

The Fiscal had been allowed four months to prepare his accusation, and five had been allowed the two Counts to arrange their defence. But instead of employing their time and trouble in the production of evidence, which perhaps would have availed them but little, they preferred wasting it, in protests against their judges, which were of still less service to them. By the former they would have apparently delayed the sentence, and by gaining time, the strong efforts made by their friends in their behalf, might have produced some effect. But by their obstinate resistance to the competency of the tribunal, they afforded the Duke of Alba a handle for cutting short the proceedings. After the elapse of the last appointed term, 5th of June 1658, they were declared guilty by the Council of Twelve, and, on the 4th of that month, sentence of death was pronounced against them.

The execution of twenty-five Flemish gentlemen, which took place during three successive days at the market-place of Brussels, was the terrible prelude to the fate which awaited the two Counts. John Casembrot Von Beckerzeel, se-

cretary to Count Egmont, was one of these unfortunates, who was thus rewarded for his fidelity to his master, which he had maintained even upon the rack, and for the zeal which he had displayed in the King's service against the Iconoclasts. The rest had either been taken with arms in their hands, or arrested and condemned as traitors, on account of the part which they had formerly taken in the petition of the nobles.

The Duke had reason to hasten the execution of the sentence. Count Louis of Nassau had given battle to Count Aremberg, near the convent of Heiligerlee in Gröningen, and had fortunately defeated him. Immediately after his victory, he advanced against Gröningen, to which he laid siege. The success of his arms had raised the courage of his party, and the Prince of Orange, his brother, was advancing with an army to his assistance. All these circumstances rendered the presence of the Duke necessary in these remote provinces; but he could not venture to leave Brussels till the fate of these two important captives was decided. The whole nation was enthusiastically devoted to them, a feeling which was increased rather than diminished by their unfortunate fate. Even the Catholic party disapproved of the execution of these distinguished noblemen. The slightest advantage gained over the arms of the Duke by the rebels, or even the report of such in Brussels, might be sufficient to produce a revolution in the town, and to set these noblemen at liberty. Besides the petitions and intercessions on the part of the German Princes of the Empire, addressed both to the King of Spain and himself,

daily increased, so much so, that Maximilian II. ventured to assure the Countess of Egmont, that she had nothing to fear for the life of her husband. These powerful efforts might at last induce the King to alter his views in favour of the prisoners. He might, even trusting to the usual rapidity of his Viceroy's operations, apparently yield to the representations of these Princes, and recall the sentence, in the assurance that his mercy would come too late. All these considerations disposed the Duke to permit as little delay as possible in the execution of the sentence.

Next day both Counts were brought under a guard of 3000 Spaniards, from the citadel of Ghent to Brussels, and were imprisoned in the Brodthaus, in the great square. Next morning the council was assembled, the Duke appeared in person according to custom, and the two sentences, which had been folded and sealed up, were opened and publicly read by the Secretary Prantz. Both Counts were found guilty of treason, as having favoured and furthered the detestable conspiracy of the Prince of Orange; protected the confederated Nobles, and been guilty of various misdemeanours against the King and the Church within their governments. Both were to be publicly beheaded, their heads exposed upon pikes, and not to be removed without the express orders of the Duke. The sentence was signed only by the Duke and the Secretary Prantz, no trouble being taken to procure the approbation of the other members of the Council.

It was during the night between the 4th and 5th of June, that the sentence was brought to the prisoners, who had already gone to rest. The

Duke had placed it in the hands of the Bishop of Ypres, Martin Rhithove, whom he had expressly summoned to Brussels to prepare the prisoners for death. The Bishop, upon receiving this commission, threw himself at the Duke's feet, and, with tears in his eyes, entreated him to pardon, or at least to delay, the execution of the prisoners. But he received the harsh and stern answer, that he had been sent for from Ypres, not to oppose the sentence, but to render it more tolerable to the unfortunate noblemen through his consolations.

Its contents were first communicated to Count Egmont. "This is in truth a severe sentence," exclaimed the Count with a pale countenance and faltering voice, "I did not think that I had so offended his Majesty, as to deserve such treatment. But if it must be so, I submit to my fate with resignation. May my death expiate my offence, and save my wife and children from suffering by my errors. This favour at least, methinks, my past services entitle me to. I will bear death with calmness, since God and my King will have it so." He then pressed the Bishop solemnly and sincerely to tell him if there was no hope of pardon. When he was told there was none, he confessed himself, and received the sacrament from the priest, whom he accompanied in the mass with the most fervent piety. He asked him what prayer was the best, and most suited to his last moments. On his answering that he knew no prayer more effective than that which had been left by Christ himself, he immediately began to recite the Lord's prayer. The thoughts of his family interrupted him; he called for pen and ink, and wrote

two letters, one to his wife, the other to the King of Spain, the latter of which was in these terms :

“ SIRE,

“ I have this morning read the sentence which your Majesty has been pleased to pronounce against me. Far as I have ever been from attempting any thing against the person or the service of your Majesty, or against the only true and venerable Catholic religion, I submit with patience to the fate which God has been pleased to appoint for me. If, during the past disturbances, I have done, advised, or omitted any thing that seemed contrary to my duty, be assured that it has proceeded from the best intentions, and was forced upon me by the pressure of circumstances. I therefore pray your Majesty to pardon such errors, and, in consideration of my past services, to deal leniently with my poor wife and my unfortunate children and servants. In this hope, I commend myself to the infinite mercy of God.

Your Majesty's most faithful
vassal and subject,

LAMORAL, COUNT EGMONT.”

Brussels, 5th of June 1568.

This letter he placed in the hands of the Bishop, with particular instructions ; and, for the greater security, sent a copy, written with his own hand, to the State Counsellor Viglius, the most lenient member of the Senate, by whom there is no reason to doubt it was transmitted to the King. The family of the Count again received possession of their estates, their fiefs and rights, which, by virtue of the sentence, were forfeited to government.

Meantime a scaffold had been erected in the market-place of Brussels, in front of the *Stadthaus*, on which two poles with iron points were fixed, and the whole covered with black cloth. Twenty-two companies of the Spanish garrison surrounded the scaffold, a precaution which was by no means superfluous. Betwixt ten and eleven the Spanish guard appeared in the chamber of the Count; they were provided with cords to bind the hands, according to custom. This however he resisted, and declared that he was willing and ready to die. He had himself cut off the collar of his dress, in order to enable the executioner more easily to perform his duty. He wore a night-gown of red damask, and over this a black Spanish mantle, trimmed with gold lace. In this garb he appeared upon the scaffold. He was accompanied by Don Julian Romero, the *maitre de camp*, a Spanish Captain named Salinas, and the Bishop of Ypres. The Grand Provost of Court, with a red staff in his hand, was seated on horseback at the foot of the scaffold; the executioner was concealed beneath.

Egmont had at first wished to address the people from the scaffold; but the Bishop represented to him, that he either would not be heard, or that the populace in their present disposition might be easily impelled to acts of violence, which could only have the effect of ruining his friends. He then abandoned the idea. He walked with dignity for some minutes up and down the scaffold, and lamented that he was not allowed to die a more honourable death for his King and country. Even to the last he had been unable to persuade himself that the King was in earnest, or that he meant to

proceed any further than a mere terror of an execution. As the decisive moment approached when he was to receive the last sacrament, as he still gazed around, and no prospect of aid approached, he turned to Julian Romero, and asked him once more, if there was no hope of pardon. Julian Romero shrugged his shoulders, looked on the ground, and was silent.

He then fixed his teeth firmly together, threw aside his mantle and robe, knelt down upon the cushion, and prepared for his last devotions. The Bishop gave him the crucifix to kiss, and administered to him extreme unction; after which the Count made a sign to him to leave him. He drew a silk cap over his eyes, and in that position awaited the blow. The body and the blood that flowed from it were immediately concealed from the eyes of the populace by a black cloth.

The deadly stroke seemed to fall upon the heart of every inhabitant of Brussels who surrounded the scaffold. The appalling stillness was broken only by loud sobs. The Duke himself, who witnessed the execution from a window, wiped his eyes as he gazed upon the scene. Soon afterwards Count Horn advanced. Of a more impetuous temperament than his friend, and exasperated against the King by stronger motives, he had received the sentence with less composure, although it was perhaps less unjust towards him than towards his friend. He had burst forth into reproaches against the King, and the Bishop had with difficulty prevailed upon him to employ his last moments more suitably than in uttering imprecations against his enemies. At last he grew

calm, and confessed himself to the Bishop, though he had at first refused to do so.

He mounted the scaffold with the same escort as his friend. In passing he saluted many of his acquaintances; he was attired like Egmont, in a black dress and mantle, with a Milanese cap of the same colour upon his head. When he had mounted the scaffold, he cast his eyes upon the corpse under the cloth, and asked if it was the body of his friend. When he was told it was, he said a few words in Spanish, threw aside his mantle, and knelt down upon the block. A universal cry broke forth as the stroke of death descended.

Both heads were placed upon the poles which had been erected on the scaffold, where they remained till three o'clock in the afternoon. Afterwards they were taken down, and placed, with the bodies, in leaden coffins.

Even the presence of the executioner, and of the spies that surrounded the scaffold, could not prevent the citizens of Brussels from dipping their handkerchiefs in the blood, and treasuring up these relics of the unfortunate victims.

THE
SIEGE OF ANTWERP.

VOL. II.

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THE
SIEGE OF ANTWERP,
BY THE
PRINCE OF PARMA,
IN
1584 AND 1585.

THERE is a peculiar interest in witnessing the contest of human invention with powerful elements of opposition, and the ultimate triumph of prudence, resolution and constancy, over difficulties which, to ordinary minds, appear invincible. Less attractive, perhaps, but still more instructive, is the contrary view of human nature ;—where the want of these qualities renders vain all the efforts of genius, and all the favours of fortune, and where the inability to improve the advantages they possess, deprives men of that success which, with ordinary prudence, was already certain. Examples of both are to be found in the celebrated Siege of Antwerp by the Spaniards, in the close of the sixteenth century ; an enterprise which for ever de-

prived this flourishing city of its commercial importance, while it conferred immortal renown on the general who undertook and accomplished it.

Twelve years had elapsed since the commencement of the war, during which the Northern Provinces of Belgium had been contending, at first only for freedom of religious belief and the privileges of the States, against the encroachments of the Spanish Governor, but latterly for their absolute independence of the Spanish monarchy. Never completely conquerors, nor completely vanquished, they wearied out the courage of Spain by tedious warlike operations on an unfavourable soil, and exhausted the efforts of the Master of both the Indies, while they themselves were called, and, in point of fact, were, almost "*beggars*." The confederation of Ghent, which had united the whole of the Netherlands, Protestant and Catholic, into one common and (could such an association have endured) invincible body, was indeed at an end; but instead of that uncertain and unnatural union, the Northern Provinces had, in the year 1579, formed the confederation of Utrecht, which, as it was cemented by a communion of interests and religious belief, seemed to promise a longer duration. What the new republic had at first lost by this separation from the Catholic Provinces, was more than balanced by the increased closeness of the new alliance, by unity of purpose and energy of execution; and perhaps it was better to sacrifice in time, what no exertion could ever have effectually maintained.

The greater part of the Walloon Provinces, either from choice or compulsion, had been reduced in the year 1584, under the yoke of Spain. The

Northern Countries alone resisted with firmness. A considerable portion of Brabant and Flanders still held out with obstinacy against the arms of Alexander, Prince of Parma, who at that time directed the government of the Provinces, and commanded the army with equal energy and prudence, and who, by a career of success, had again raised the military reputation of Spain. The natural situation of the country, which by means of rivers and canals promoted the communication of cities with each other and with the sea, increased the difficulty of every conquest; and the possession of one place could only be obtained by the command of the rest. As long as their mutual communication continued, Holland and Zealand could with little difficulty assist their confederates, and furnish them, either by sea or land, with supplies which no efforts could prevent, while the King's troops were exhausted by tedious and fruitless sieges.

The most important town in Brabant was Antwerp, both on account of its riches, population, and strength, and its situation at the mouth of the Schelde. This large and populous city, containing at that time upwards of 80,000 inhabitants, was one of the most active members of the League of the Netherlands, and had distinguished itself above all the other cities of Belgium by an irrepressible freedom of opinion. As it included within its walls all the divisions of the Christian church, and owed much of its prosperity to this unlimited toleration, so it had by far the most to fear from the dominion of Spain, which threatened to annihilate religious freedom, and to expel the Protestant merchants from its markets, by the

terrors of the Inquisition. They had already experienced the brutality of the Spanish garrisons ; and could not fail to perceive, that if they once bent their necks to this intolerable yoke, they never would again be able to rid themselves of its burden.

But, powerful as were these inducements to resistance on the part of Antwerp, considerations not less weighty determined the Spanish General, at every price, to make himself master of the town. On the possession of Antwerp depended in a great measure that of the whole territory of Brabant, which was chiefly supplied through this channel with grain from Zeeland ; while its capture would give the victors the command of the Schelde. It would deprive the League of Brabant, which held its meetings there, of its strongest support, and the whole Protestant party of its dangerous example, its counsel, and its treasure, while the riches of its inhabitants would replenish the coffers of the King, which were now exhausted by the necessities of war. Its fall must, sooner or later, draw after it that of the whole of Brabant ; and the preponderance once obtained in that quarter, would ultimately prove decisive in favour of the King. Determined by these views, the Prince of Parma, in July 1584, collected his army, and marched from Dornick, where he then was, to the neighbourhood of Antwerp, with the intention of laying siege to the town. *

But both the natural situation, and the artificial securities of Antwerp, seemed to bid defiance to every attack. Surrounded on the side of Bra-

* Thuan. Hist. Tom. II. 527.—Grotius De Reb. Belgicis, 84.

bant with impregnable works, and moats filled with water; and on the Flanders side by the broad and rapid stream of the Schelde, it could not be surprised by any sudden assault; and thus defended, the siege could only be carried on with effect by a land force, triple that of the prince, and a fleet, which he entirely wanted. The river not only supplied the town with abundance of every necessary from Ghent, but opened also an easy communication with the adjacent territory of Zealand. As the tides of the North Sea extend far up the Schelde, and ebb regularly, Antwerp possesses the peculiar advantage, that the same tide, at different periods, flows past it in opposite directions. Besides, the neighbouring cities of Brussels, Mechlin, Ghent, Dendermonde, and others, were all in the hands of the League, and could facilitate the conveyance of supplies upon the land side. Two different armies, therefore, were necessary, one on each bank of the river, to blockade the town by land, and to cut off its communication with Flanders and Brabant; and a fleet sufficient to guard the passage of the Schelde, and to prevent the admission of those supplies which could undoubtedly be poured in from Zealand. But the army of the Prince of Parma was now reduced, in consequence of the war which he had still to maintain in other quarters, and the numerous garrisons which he had been obliged to leave in the towns and fortresses, to 10,000 foot and 1700 horse, a force very inadequate to an undertaking of this formidable nature. These troops were also inadequately supplied with necessaries, and the long arrears of pay which were due, had given rise to secret discon-

tents, which hourly threatened to break out into open mutiny. If, notwithstanding these obstacles, they should still attempt the siege, they had every thing to fear from the fortresses they had left behind in the hands of the enemy, from whence it would be easy for the garrisons to annoy their divided army by well directed sallies, and to distress them by intercepting their convoys.*

These difficulties were fully appreciated by the Council, to whom the Prince of Parma opened his plan. With all their confidence in themselves, and in the tried capacity of such a leader, the most experienced generals did not attempt to disguise their doubts as to its issue, with the exception of two only, whose impetuous disposition placed them beyond the reach of such prudential considerations, Capizucchi and Mondragone, all of them disadvised this hazardous enterprise, by which they ran the risk of losing the fruits of all their former conquests, and of tarnishing all the military renown which they had acquired.

But objections which he had already foreseen and answered, could not alter the plans of the Prince of Parma. They had not been formed in ignorance of these dangers, or with a thoughtless and overweening confidence in his own resources. But that instinctive feeling which enables great minds to tread with security and success, in a course which inferior men would either have never commenced, or never completed, raised him above the influence of the doubts which a cold and limited prudence would have opposed to his

* Strada, De B. Bel. Dec. II. Lib. VI.

views ; and without being able to persuade his generals, he felt an internal conviction of their correctness, not the less to be relied on perhaps, that it was dark and indefinable. A career of success had exalted his confidence ; and the sight of the army by which he was surrounded, unequalled in Europe for discipline, experience and bravery, and commanded by the most eminent officers, was in itself sufficient to banish every thought of fear. To those who objected to the smallness of its number, he used to answer, that whatever might be the length of the pike, it was but the *point* that inflicted the wound ; and that in military enterprises, more depended on the forces actually employed, than on the mass which might be called into action. He was aware of the discontents of his troops, but he was acquainted also with their obedience ; and he thought that their attention would be most effectually withdrawn from these private grievances, by employing them in some important undertaking, which might operate by its brilliancy, on their love of military renown, and on their avarice, by the high prize which the plunder of such a prosperous city would offer to the conqueror. *

In the plan which he had laid down for the conduct of the siege, he resolved to meet with energy the manifold difficulties of the enterprise. Famine was the only engine by which he could hope to make himself master of Antwerp ; and, in order to avail himself of this terrible expedient, it was necessary to shut up every avenue to it either by sea or land. In order to impede, if not

* Strada, loc. cit. 553.

to put a stop to the communication with Zealand, he determined, in the first place, to obtain possession of those works which the inhabitants had erected on both banks of the Schelde, for the protection of their fleet ; and, in their place, to erect new bulwarks, which should command the whole extent of the river. And, that the city might not be supplied on the land side with those succours which he was endeavouring to cut off by sea, it was resolved that all the surrounding cities of Flanders and Brabant should be included in the blockade, and the fall of Antwerp be made to depend on their surrender. It was indeed a gigantic, and, looking only to the limited means of the Prince of Parma, almost an extravagant enterprise ; but the attempt was justified by the genius of its author, and the brilliant success of its issue.*

As the execution of so extensive a plan required time, it was necessary to commence by the erection of forts upon the canals and rivers which connect Antwerp with Dendermonde, Ghent, Mechlin, Brussels, and the other towns in the neighbourhood, and thus to render the communication between them more difficult. Spanish garrisons were at the same time quartered in their neighbourhood, and almost at their very gates, which laid waste the level country around, and kept the surrounding territory in alarm by their incursions. Three thousand men were placed before Ghent alone, and before the other towns in proportion. By means of these expedients, and of the secret communication which he maintained with the Catholic inhabitants of these towns, the

* Strada, Dec. ii. Lib. vi.

prince hoped to be able, without weakening his own forces, gradually to exhaust their strength, and, by the harassing operation of a petty and incessant warfare, without any formal siege, to reduce them to submission. *

In the meantime the main efforts of the Prince of Parma were to be directed against Antwerp, which he now entirely surrounded with his troops. He posted himself at Bevern in Flanders, a few miles from Antwerp, where he constructed a fortified camp. The Flanders side of the Schelde was intrusted to the Margrave of Rysburg, general of the cavalry, the Brabant side to Count Peter Ernest of Mansfeld, and to another Spanish leader, Mondragone. The two last crossed the Schelde successfully upon pontoons, notwithstanding the opposition of the Flemish admiral's ship, which had been sent against them, and passing Antwerp, took up their position at Stabröck in Bergen. Some detached corps were scattered along the whole Brabant side of the Schelde, who were employed partly in guarding the dykes, and partly in blocking up the passages by land.

Some miles below Antwerp the Schelde is guarded by two strong forts, one of which is situated at Liefkenhoek, on the Island of Doel in Flanders, and the other at Lille, directly opposite, on the side of Brabant. The last had been built by Mondragone by order of the Duke of Alba while he governed in Antwerp, and to him the attack of the fortress was now intrusted by the Prince of Parma. Upon the possession of these forts the whole fate of the siege seemed to depend,

* Meteren, Hist. of the Netherlands, Book XII. 467, et seq.

because every vessel sailing from Zealand to Antwerp was obliged to pass the Schelde, under the fire of their cannon. Both forts had been lately strengthened by the Flemish, and their preparations for the defence of the first were scarcely completed, when it was attacked by the Margrave of Rysburg. The celerity with which the Spanish general went to work, confounded the enemy who were not sufficiently on their guard, and a brisk assault directed against Liefkenhoek, left this fort in the hands of the Spaniards. This loss occurred on the same unfortunate day that the Prince of Orange fell at Delft by the hand of an assassin. The other defences erected on the Island of Doel, were partly taken, partly abandoned by their defenders, so that in a short time the whole Flemish side of the Schelde was in the possession of the Spaniards. But the fort of Lillo on the side of Brabant opposed a far more vigorous resistance, as the inhabitants of Antwerp had found time to strengthen its fortifications, and to furnish it with a strong garrison. Desperate sallies of the besieged, under the conduct of Odet de Teligny, and covered by the cannon of the fort, destroyed all the works of the Spaniards, and an inundation produced by the opening of the sluices, drove them after a three weeks' siege, with the loss of two thousand men, from the place. They returned to their fortified camp at Stabröck, and contented themselves with occupying the dykes, which cut across the low country of Bergen, and erecting a breastwork against the impetuosity of the Easter Schelde.

* Meteren. Book xii. 477, 478.—Strad. Loc. Cit. Thuanus, ii. 527.

The failure of the attempt upon Fort Lillo changed the plans of the Prince of Parma. Unable in this way to shut up the passage of the Schelde, on which the fate of the siege depended, he determined to effect his purpose by erecting a bridge across the whole breadth of the river. The project was a bold one, and, in the opinion of many, extravagant and visionary. Both the breadth of the river, which, in this neighbourhood, exceeded twelve hundred paces, and the rapidity of the current, rendered still more impetuous by the tides of the neighbouring sea, seemed to render every attempt of this kind hopeless; and to this was added the want of building materials, of ships, and workmen, and the danger of the position between the fleets of Antwerp and Zealand, to whom it would be an easy matter, in combination with a stormy element, to destroy and render fruitless so tedious an undertaking. But the Prince of Parma knew his strength, and his settled resolution would yield to nothing but absolute impossibilities. After measuring both the breadth and depth of the river, and consulting with two of his ablest engineers, Barocci and Plato, he determined to build the bridge between Calloo in Flanders and Ordam in Brabant. This situation was chosen, because the river is here narrowest, and bends a little to the right, so as to detain vessels for some time, and oblige them to change their tack. Strong bastions were erected at both ends to cover the bridge; the one situated on the Flanders side, being called Fort St Maria, and the other on the side of Brabant, Fort St Philip, in honour of the King. †

† Strad. Dec. 2. Lib. VI. 557.

While the most active preparations were making in the Spanish camp for the execution of this plan, and the whole attention of the enemy was directed to it, the Prince made an unexpected attack upon Dendermonde, a strong town situated between Ghent and Antwerp, at the confluence of the Dender and the Schelde. As long as this important place remained in the enemy's hand, the cities of Ghent and Antwerp could mutually support each other, and by an easy communication, frustrate all the labours of the besiegers. Its capture would allow the Prince to act with freedom and security against both, and might prove decisive of the issue of his undertaking. The rapidity of his attack, left the inhabitants no time to open their sluices and to lay the country under water. A strong cannonade was opened against the principal bastion of the town before the Brussels gate, but the fire of the besieged, proved most destructive to the Spaniards. Even this, however, seemed rather to increase than to damp their ardour, and the conduct of the garrison, who mutilated the statue of a saint before their eyes, and threw it down from the breast-work with the most contemptuous abuse, inflamed them almost to madness. They crowded forward, demanding to be led to the bastion even before a breach had been formed ; and the Prince, in order to avail himself of the first ardour of their impetuosity, gave orders for the assault. After a murderous combat of two hours, the breast-work was carried, and such of the garrison as had escaped the fury of the Spaniards, threw themselves into the town. It was now still more exposed to the fire of the enemy, directed against it from the ramparts which

had been abandoned; but the strong walls, and broad ditches filled with water by which it was surrounded, gave reason to expect a long resistance. The inventive mind of the Prince of Parma, however, soon overcame these obstacles. While the bombardment continued day and night without intermission, the troops were incessantly employed in diverting the course of the Dender, which supplied the trenches with water; and despair seized the besieged, when they saw the water in their trenches, now the only protection of the town, gradually disappearing. They hastened to surrender, and received a Spanish garrison into the city in August 1584. Thus, in the short space of eleven days, the Prince of Parma completed an undertaking, for which, in the opinion of intelligent men, as many weeks would have been necessary. *

The city of Ghent now cut off from Antwerp and from the sea, closely surrounded by the royal army, which was encamped in its neighbourhood, and without hope of any immediate succour, gave up every thing for lost, as the ghastly spectre of famine with its terrible consequences drew nearer and nearer. The inhabitants sent deputies to the Spanish camp at Bevern, offering to surrender on the same conditions which the Prince had in vain offered them some time before. They were told that the time for proposals was past, and that nothing but an unconditional submission could appease the monarch whom they had irritated by their rebellion. They had even reason to fear that the same humiliating submission would be

* Strad. loc. cit. Meteren. XII. 479.—Thuan, 2. 529.

exacted from them to which their rebellious ancestors had been subjected in the days of Charles V.; namely, that they should be obliged to sue for pardon half naked, and with a halter about their necks. The deputies returned to Ghent in despair; but three days after a new embassy was despatched, which at last, by the intercession of a friend of the Prince of Parma, who was then a prisoner in Ghent, succeeded in effecting a treaty upon more reasonable terms. The city was compelled to pay a fine of 200,000 guilders, to recall the banished Catholics, and to banish its Protestant inhabitants, who were to be allowed two years to arrange their affairs. All the inhabitants, with the exception of six, who were marked out for punishment, (but afterwards pardoned), were included in a general amnesty, and the garrison, amounting to 2000 men, was allowed an honourable retreat. The treaty was signed in September 1584, at the Spanish head-quarters at Bevern, and a garrison of 3000 Spanish troops immediately occupied Ghent. *

The Prince of Parma thus succeeded, more by the dread of his name and the terrors of famine, than by his military strength in reducing to submission this city, the largest and best fortified in the Netherlands, which is little inferior in extent to Paris within the barriers, including 37,000 houses, and situated upon 20 islands, connected by 98 stone bridges. The important privileges which this city in the course of several centuries had extorted from its rulers, nourished in its inhabitants a spirit of independence, which not unfre-

* Meteren. 479, 480. Book XII.—Strad. loc. cit. 562, 563.

quently showed itself in riot and contempt of authority, and was naturally and strongly opposed to the government of the House of Austria. This extreme freedom of opinion had procured for the Reformation the most rapid and extensive success in Ghent, and these united motives of civil and religious independence had given rise to all those scenes of commotion, for which, during the course of this war, it had unfortunately been distinguished. Besides the fine imposed upon the inhabitants, the Prince of Parma found within its walls a large store of artillery, carriages, ships, and building materials, with the requisite number of workmen and sailors, of whom not a few were necessary for his main enterprise against Antwerp. *

Before Ghent had surrendered, the towns of Vilvorden and Herentals had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; and the fortifications in the vicinity of Willebroek had been taken possession of, so as to separate Antwerp from Brussels and Mechlin. The loss of all these places within so short a period deprived Antwerp of all hope of succour from Brabant and Flanders, and limited all their prospects of assistance to the supplies from Zealand, of which the Prince of Parma was labouring so anxiously, by his operations upon the Schelde, to deprive them. †

The inhabitants of Antwerp had looked upon the first preparations of the Spanish general with that proud security which the imposing aspect of their majestic river naturally inspired. This confidence was in some measure justified by the opi-

* Meteren, loc. cit.

† Meteren, 47, &c.—Thuan, ii. 529

nion of the Prince of Orange, who, upon the first intelligence of the siege, had said, that the cause of Spain would be wrecked before the walls of Antwerp. That nothing, however, might be neglected that was necessary for its defence, he had, within a short time of his murder, sent for the Burgomaster of Antwerp, Philip Marnix of St Aldegonde, his friend and confident, to Delft, to take measures with him for that purpose. The plan which was then arranged was, that the large dyke between Sanvliet and Lillo, called the Blauwgarendyk, should be suddenly opened, so as to allow the waters of the Easter Schelde, as soon as it became necessary, to inundate the low country of Bergen, and thus, in the event of a partial interruption of the navigation of the Scheldt, to open a passage for the Zealand fleet to the city, across the inundated country. St Aldegonde, upon his return, proposed the measure to the magistracy and the citizens, but was opposed by the corporation of butchers, who complained that the measure would prove ruinous to them, as the country which they proposed to lay under water was principally meadow ground, on which about 12,000 cattle were yearly pastured. The corporation carried the day, and contrived to delay the execution of the project till both the dykes and the pastureland had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards. †

By the directions of the Burgomaster, St Aldegonde, who was himself a member of the State Council of Brabant, and stood high in their opinion, the fortifications of Antwerp on both sides of the Schelde, had been strengthened before the

† General Hist. of United Netherlands, iii. 469; Gro-
tius, 88.

arrival of the Spaniards, and several new batteries erected around the town. The dyke at Saftengen had been opened, and the waters of the Wester Schelde allowed to inundate the whole country of the Waes. In the neighbouring territory of Bergen, troops had been raised by the Count Von Hohenlohe; and a Scotch regiment, under the command of Colonel Morgan, was already in the pay of the Republic, while new subsidies were expected from England and France. Above all, the States of Holland and Zealand were urged to hasten their supplies and assistance. But when the enemy had obtained a firm footing on both sides of the stream, and the fire of their batteries began to render the navigation dangerous,—when town after town in Brabant fell into their hands, and their cavalry intercepted all supplies from the land side, the inhabitants of Antwerp began to feel some dark and anxious apprehensions about the future. Their numbers at that time amounted to 85,000, and by the calculation they had made, 800,000 quarters of grain were annually required for their subsistence. At the commencement of the siege, neither money nor efforts were wanting to provide these necessary supplies, and in spite of the fire of the enemy, the provision-ships from Zealand, taking advantage of the rising tide, contrived to make their way to the city. It was difficult, however, to prevent some of the rich citizens from buying up the provisions, in order to take advantage of the common necessity, and to raise their price. In order to put a stop to this practice, an individual named Gianibelli, from Mantua, who had settled in Antwerp, and who afterwards rendered important services in the

course of the siege, proposed an impost of the hundredth penny, and the formation of a society of respectable citizens, who should purchase the grain, and distribute it weekly. The rich were to advance the money in the first instance, to retain the provisions they had purchased in their magazines as a pledge, and to have their share in the profits. The proposal, however, was displeasing to the richer inhabitants, who had resolved to turn the public distress to their own advantage. They recommended, on the contrary, that every person should be ordered to provide himself with the necessary provisions for two years; a plan sufficiently well adapted for their own purposes, but very unreasonable in regard to the poorer citizens, who could scarcely have found means to provide themselves beforehand for as many months. They would thus succeed, either in driving the latter from the town entirely, or in rendering them dependent on themselves; but as they recollected also, that in the time of distress their right of property might not be very scrupulously respected, they thought it advisable to be in no hurry with their purchases. †

The magistracy of the town, in their anxiety to guard against an evil which pressed upon one class of the community, had recourse to a measure which endangered the safety of all. Some contractors in Zealand, had freighted a numerous fleet with provisions, which passed successfully through the fire of the enemy, and landed at Antwerp. The hope of large profits had induced these merchants to attempt this hazardous speculation; and in this expectation they found themselves disap-

† Univ. Hist. of the United Netherlands, III. 472.

pointed upon their arrival. The magistrates of Antwerp had just published an edict regulating the prices of all provisions. In order to prevent individuals from purchasing the whole cargoes, and shutting them up in their magazines in order to retail them at a dearer rate, they gave orders that every thing should be sold freely from the shops to all comers. The contractors, deprived of their profits by means of this precaution, set sail again immediately, and left Antwerp with the greater part of their cargoes, which would have afforded subsistence to the inhabitants for several months. *

This neglect of the most essential and natural means of deliverance, would be inconceivable, were it not that the inhabitants then believed, that a total interruption of the passage of the Schelde was impossible, and had no serious apprehension of being reduced to absolute extremity. When the news came, that the Prince proposed to build a bridge across the Schelde, this visionary enterprise was made the subject of universal ridicule. The citizens drew comparisons between their river and the republic, and observed that neither the one nor the other, would submit to the Spanish yoke. "Was it to be supposed," they said, "that a river of 2400 feet broad,—even with its own waters alone above sixty feet in depth, and in which the tide mounted twelve feet more, could be spanned by a miserable bridge of piles? Where was the Prince to find beams high enough to show their heads above the water? And what was to become of such a work in winter, when the impetuous current of the Schelde carried down islands and

* Grotius, 92. Reidan. Belg. Ann. 69.

mountains of ice, which stone walls would scarcely resist, against its feeble bulwarks, and shattered them like glass? If the Prince intended to build a bridge of ships, where was he to find them, and how was he to bring them within his fortifications? They could only reach them by passing Antwerp, and there a fleet was already prepared, by which they must either be sunk or taken." *

But while the citizens of Antwerp were thus employed in ridiculing the extravagance of his undertaking, the Prince of Parma had already completed it. As soon as the forts of Santa Maria and St Philip were erected, so as to protect the works and the workmen by their fire, a scaffolding was built out into the river on both sides, for which the masts of the highest vessels were required. These bulwarks were intended to give such solidity to the whole, as might enable the bridge to resist the pressure of the ice; and the event proved that their strength was not overrated. They penetrated deep into the bed of the river, and rose high above the water, being covered on the top with planks, so as to form a commodious path, wide enough to allow eight persons to cross abreast, while a balustrade, formed on both sides, protected them from the musketry of the enemy's ships. This *staccade*, as it was called, ran out into the stream from both sides, as far as the depth of the water and the rapidity of the current would permit. The river was thus narrowed to the breadth of eleven hundred feet; but as no such erections could be made in the centre of the current, there still remained between the two stac-

* Strada, de B. Bel. 560.

cades an open space more than six hundred paces in width, through which a whole fleet loaded with provisions might pass without much difficulty. This intermediate space the Prince determined to fill up by a bridge of ships, for which the vessels should be sent from Dunkirk. But besides that they were deficient in number, there was little probability of their passing Antwerp without a considerable loss. In the meantime, he was obliged to remain contented with having contracted the course of the stream nearly one half, and thus rendered the passage so much the more difficult for the vessels of the enemy. Where the staccades terminated in the middle of the river, they spread out into an oblong square, which was strongly mounted with cannon, and formed a sort of fort upon the water. Thus, every ship which attempted to pass through the opening was exposed to a terrible fire from these forts; and yet, notwithstanding these dangers, both fleets and single vessels continued to attempt and to execute the passage with success. †

In the meantime Ghent surrendered, and this unexpected acquisition at once released the Prince of Parma from his doubts. He found in this city every thing he required for his intended bridge of vessels, and now the only difficulty lay in bringing them to the place. The enemy had, themselves, opened to him a passage. By opening the dykes at Saftingen, great part of the country of Waes, as far as the village of Borcht, had been laid under water, so that he thought it would not be difficult to pass over it in flat-bottomed vessels. He

† Strada, 360—Thuan, 550—Meteren. B. XII.

ordered his ships to leave Ghent ; and after passing Dendermonde and Rupelmonde, to break down the left dyke of the Schelde, to leave Antwerp on the right, and to sail over the inundation to Borcht. To render the voyage more secure, a battery was erected at Borcht, so as to keep the enemy in check. Every thing succeeded to the wishes of the Prince, though not without a smart combat with the enemy's fleet, which had been sent out to intercept their passage. After breaking down some other dykes, they reached the Spanish quarters at Calloo, and were successfully launched upon the Schelde. The joy of the army on their arrival was still farther increased, when they learned the perils they had escaped. For scarcely had they extricated themselves from the enemy's fleet, when a strong reinforcement arrived from Antwerp, under the command of the brave defender of Lillo, Odet de Teligny. When he saw that the affair was over, and that the Spaniards had escaped, he took possession of the dyke which they had broken through, and immediately erected a battery on the spot, in order to close the passage against any vessels from Ghent which might afterwards arrive.*

This step of Teligny placed the Prince in some embarrassment. He still wanted a considerable number of vessels, both for the erection of the bridge and its defence, and the way by which the others had passed was now effectually blocked up by the fort erected by Teligny. While he was employed in reconnoitring the country, in order to discover a new passage for his fleet, an idea oc-

* Meteren, 481.—Strada, 564.

curred to him, which not only put an end to his present difficulties, but contributed mainly to the ultimate success of his enterprise. Not far from the village of Stecken, in the country of the Waes, which is situated within about 5000 paces of the commencement of the inundation, runs the Moer, a small stream which falls into the Schelde near Ghent. From this river he ordered a canal to be dug across the country, to the spot where the inundation began, and, as the waters scarcely rose high enough, it was continued between Bevern and Verrebroek, as far as Calloo, where it opened into the Schelde. Five hundred pioneers laboured at the work without intermission, and, to increase their activity, the Prince laid his hand to the work himself,—thus imitating the example of two noble Romans, Drusus and Corbulo, who, in a similar way, had connected the Rhine with the Zuydersee, and the Maes with the Rhine.

This canal, which the army, in honour of its projector, named the Canal of Parma, was 14,000 paces long, and of a depth and breadth sufficient to bear vessels of considerable burden. It furnished the ships from Ghent, not only with a more secure, but also a much shorter passage to the Spanish quarters, as they were no longer obliged to follow the extensive windings of the Schelde, but could sail at once from Ghent into the Moer, and from thence by the canal at Stecken, and across the inundation to Calloo. As the productions of all Flanders were to be found in profusion in Ghent, this canal opened a communication between the Spanish camp and the whole province. Abundance was poured in from every quarter, so

that, during the course of the siege, no want of necessaries or luxuries was again experienced. But the principal advantage which the Prince derived from this work, was an ample supply of those flat-bottomed vessels with which he intended to complete the erection of his bridge. *

In the course of these preparations, the winter came on, which, as the Schelde was frozen over, occasioned a considerable delay in the building of the bridge. The Prince had contemplated with anxiety the approach of this season of the year, which might prove so destructive to the work he had undertaken, while it would afford the enemy an opportunity so much the more favourable for an attack upon his fortifications. But the caution and ability of his engineers delivered him from the first danger, and the inactivity of the enemy from the second. It frequently happened, indeed, that with the rise of the tide large shoals of ice were caught by the staccades, and were driven with violence against the timbers of the bridge ; but it stood firm ; and the wild uproar of the elements only proved the solidity with which it had been erected.

In the meantime, important moments had been wasted in fruitless deliberations in Antwerp, and the general security had been lost sight of amidst the agitation of party quarrels. The government of the city was divided among too many hands, and too strongly influenced by a disorderly populace to allow any one to consider with calmness, to decide with judgment, or to execute with firmness. Besides the magistracy itself, in which the Burgomaster had but a single vote, there

* Strad. 565.

were in the city a crowd of corporations to which the external and internal defence, the management of provisions, the fortifying of the town, the direction of the navy and of commerce, were intrusted, all of which were only to be managed by persuasion. By means of this crowd of speakers, who intruded themselves at pleasure into the Council of the State, and carried, by means of their outcries and their numbers, what they could not obtain by reason, the populace acquired a dangerous influence over the public councils, and the natural opposition of so many discordant interests prevented the adoption of any wholesome measure. A government so weak and vacillating could exercise no great influence over an insolent navy, and a soldiery proud of their own strength; and hence the orders of the State were imperfectly obeyed, and the decisive moment more than once allowed to escape by the negligence, if not the open mutiny, of the troops and mariners. *

This disagreement as to the *means* by which the enemy were to be opposed, would not have been by any means so fatal had the parties been agreed as to the end. But on this point also the more wealthy citizens and the mass of the population were divided; for the former, who had every thing to apprehend from allowing matters to be carried to extremities, were strongly inclined to treat with the Prince of Parma. This inclination they no longer attempted to conceal when the Fort of Liefkenhoek fell into the hands of the Spaniards, and serious apprehensions began to be entertained as to the navigation of the Schelde. Some came at once to the point, and refusing to

* Neteren, 584—Thuan, 2. 529—Grotius, 88.

be partakers with the city in misfortune, though they had been sharers in its prosperity, would have left it at once to its fate. Sixty or seventy of the remainder of this class presented a petition to the Council, in which they expressed their wish that terms should be proposed to the King. No sooner, however, was the intelligence communicated to the populace, than their indignation broke out with such vehemence, that nothing but the fining and imprisonment of the petitioners could appease the tumult; and tranquillity was only fully restored by the publication of an edict, imposing the punishment of death on all who either publicly or privately should countenance proposals for peace. *

No part of these disturbances escaped the notice of the Prince of Parma, who had secret communications with Antwerp, as well as the other cities of Brabant and Flanders, and who was well served by his agents, and he lost no time in taking advantage of them. Though he had already made considerable progress in his preparations for the complete blockade of the city, much yet remained to be done, and a single unfortunate moment might destroy the labour of many months. Without neglecting his warlike preparations therefore, he determined to try seriously, whether he could not make himself master of the town by fair means. In November of this year, he wrote a letter to the great Council of Antwerp, in which he used every artifice likely to induce the citizens to surrender the town, or to increase their mutual dissensions. He treated them in this letter as misled men, and

* Meteren, 485.

laid the whole blame of their revolt and resistance upon the intriguing spirit of the Prince of Orange, from whose artifices they had lately been freed by the just vengeance of Heaven. It was now, he said, in their power to awake from their long infatuation, and to return to their allegiance to a monarch who was anxious to be reconciled to them. For his own part, he would joyfully be the instrument of reconciliation, since he had never ceased to love a land in which he was born, and where he had passed the happiest days of his youth. He urged them immediately to send to him plenipotentiaries, with whom he might arrange conditions of peace, and gave them reason to expect the most favourable terms if they submitted in time, while he threatened them with the severest punishments if they obstinately continued to push matters to extremity.

This letter, in which they recognised with pleasure a language very different from that which the Duke of Alba had held ten years before in similar circumstances, was answered by the inhabitants in a tone of dignity and decision. While they did ample justice to the personal character of the Prince, and acknowledged, with gratitude, his kind inclinations towards them, they lamented the hardship of circumstances which placed it beyond his power to do justice to his feelings. They would with pleasure have placed their fate in his hands, had he been the master of his own actions, instead of being the instrument of another's will, and the defender of a cause which his better judgment and his private feelings must condemn. They knew but too well the unchanging counsels of the King

of Spain, and the vow which he had made to the Pope ; on this side they had nothing to hope. They defended with a noble warmth the memory of the Prince of Orange, their benefactor and deliverer, while they detailed the true causes which had produced this unfortunate war, and separated the provinces from the Spanish Crown. They did not disguise at the same time that they had hopes of finding another and a milder master in the King of France ; and this consideration alone was sufficient to determine them against the proposals of Philip, since they could enter into no treaty with him, without being guilty of the basest inconstancy and ingratitude. †

Under the influence of the despondency produced by a series of calamities, the United Provinces had indeed come to the resolution of placing themselves under the protection and sovereignty of France, and of preserving their existence, and their ancient privileges, by the sacrifice of their independence. With this view an embassy had some time before been despatched to Paris ; and it was the prospect of this powerful assistance which principally supported the courage of the inhabitants of Antwerp. Henry III. King of France, was personally inclined to yield to their wishes ; but the troubles which the activity of the Spaniards promoted in his dominions, obliged him at last, against his wish, to abandon the project. The provinces then turned for assistance to Elizabeth of England, who actually sent them supplies, though they came too late to save Antwerp. While the citizens were awaiting the issue of these

† Thuan, ii. 530, 531 — Meteren, 485, 486.

negotiations, and looking around and abroad for assistance, they were unfortunately neglecting the nearest and most natural means of deliverance ; and the whole winter was lost, while the enemy were enabled to avail themselves of it with the fullest effect, in consequence of their indecision and inactivity. *

St Aldegonde, the Burgomaster of Antwerp, had indeed repeatedly urged the fleet of Zealand to attack the enemy's works, while the expedition was to be supported from Antwerp on the other side. The long and frequently stormy nights of winter favoured this attempt ; and if a sally were at the same time made by the garrison of Lillo, it seemed scarcely possible for the enemy to resist this triple attack. But, unfortunately, dissensions existed between the leaders of the fleet, Wilhelm Von Blois, Von Tresslung, and the Admiralty of Zealand, and the result was, that the equipment of the fleet was most unaccountably delayed. To quicken their preparations, Teligny resolved to go in person to Middleburg, where the States of Zealand were assembled ; but as the enemy were in possession of all the passes, the attempt cost him his freedom, and the Republic lost in him its bravest defender. In the meantime, however, there was no want of trading-vessels, which, under cover of the night, and favoured by the rising tide, passed through the opening of the bridge in spite of the enemy's fire, threw provisions into the town, and retired with the ebb of the tide. But as many of these vessels fell into the hands of the

* Meteren, 188, et seq. ; Gen. Hist. iii. 476-491 ; Gro-tius, 89.

enemy, the Council gave orders, that in future vessels should not attempt the passage, unless they amounted to a particular number ; and the result unfortunately was, that almost all remained behind, because the stipulated number could not at one time be collected. Some attempts were also made by the garrison of Antwerp on the Spanish ships with tolerable success ; some vessels were taken, others sunk, and it was proposed to attempt an experiment on a greater scale. But anxiously as St Aldegonde laboured to effect this project, he could not procure a single sailor to man his vessel. *

Amidst these delays, the winter passed over ; and scarcely had the ice disappeared, when the besiegers resumed, with the utmost earnestness, the erection of the bridge of vessels. The opening of six hundred paces, which still remained between the two staccades, was to be filled up in the following manner:—Two-and-thirty flat-bottomed vessels, each sixty feet long, and twenty broad, were fastened to each other at the bow and the stern by strong cables and iron chains, but in such a manner as to stand about twenty feet separate from each other, and to leave a free passage for the stream. Each vessel was also secured by two anchors, placed both up and down the river, the cables of which could be loosed or tightened as the tide rose or fell. Upon the ships large beams were laid, which reached from one to the other ; and being covered with planks, formed a regular road like that along the staccades, protected by a balustrade. This bridge of vessels, of which the staccades formed the continuation, ex-

* Strad. 564 ; Meteren , 484 ; Reidan. Ann. 69.

tended (including these) to the length of 2400 paces. So admirably, too, was this tremendous machine constructed, and so abundantly provided with the materials of destruction, that it seemed almost capable of defending itself like a living being, of obeying the word of command, and scattering death among all who should approach it. Besides the two forts of Santa Maria and St Philip on each bank of the river, and the wooden batteries on the bridge itself, which were filled with soldiers, and mounted with cannon on every side, each of the thirty-two vessels was manned with thirty soldiers and four sailors, and presented the aspect of the cannon's mouth to the enemy, whether he sailed upwards from Zealand, or downwards from Antwerp. It was defended on the whole by ninety-seven cannon, some placed above, and some under the bridge, and by more than 1500 men, distributed partly among the batteries, and partly among the ships, who, if necessary, could direct a tremendous fire against the enemy. Still, however, the Prince was not satisfied that his work was secured by these precautions against every accident. It was to be expected that the enemy would leave nothing undone to destroy, by the power of their engines, the central and weaker part of the bridge; and to ward off this danger, he erected along the bridge, and at some distance from it, another extensive work, in order to dissipate and weaken the assaults which might be directed against the bridge itself. It consisted of thirty-three vessels of considerable size, arranged in a circle across the whole course of the river, and fastened to each other, three and three, with large masts, so that they formed eleven separate groups. Each

was armed like a troop of pikemen, with fourteen long wooden poles, presenting an iron point to the approaching enemy. These barks were loaded merely with ballast, and were fastened by a double anchor, slackened so as to adapt itself to the changes of the tide. They were in constant motion, and hence were called *the swimmers*. The whole of the bridge of vessels, and part of the staccades, were protected by these swimmers, which were placed both above and below the bridge. To all these defensive preparations was added a squadron of forty King's vessels, which were stationed on both sides, and served to cover the whole. †

This astonishing work was finished in March 1585, in the seventh month of the siege, and the day of its completion was a jubilee for the troops. A wild feu-de-joie announced the event to the besieged, and the army, as if they wished to assure themselves of the triumph, spread themselves out along their whole work, to see the haughty stream over which they had laid their yoke, roll submissive and obedient below. All the toils they had endured were forgotten in this animating prospect; and the most insignificant workman, whose hand had been employed in the work, appropriated to himself some portion of the honour which the successful execution of this gigantic enterprise conferred on its illustrious projector. On the other hand nothing could equal the consternation of the citizens of Antwerp, when the news reached them that the passage of the

† Strad. Dec. 2, Lib. VI. 566, 567.—Meteren, 482.—Thuan. 3, Lib. 83, 45.—Gen. Hist. of the United Netherlands, 3. 497.

Schelde was now entirely blocked up, and all hope of succours from Zealand at an end. To increase their terror they received, at the same moment, the intelligence of the fall of Brussels, which had at last been compelled by famine to surrender. An attempt made by Count Hohenlohe, at the same time, to recover Herzogenbusch, or to effect a diversion of the enemy, was equally unsuccessful; and thus the unfortunate city lost, at one time, all hope of future succours either by sea or land. †

These news were brought by some fugitives, who had succeeded in penetrating by the Spanish outposts into the town; and a spy whom the burgomaster had sent out to reconnoitre the enemy's works, increased the universal consternation by his report. He had been taken and brought before the Prince of Parma, who gave orders that he should be conducted over them all, and that the bridge, and its wonderful accompaniments, should be particularly pointed out to him. After he had seen every thing, and was reconducted to the general, he sent him back to Antwerp with this message, "Go and relate to those that sent you what you have seen. Tell them also, that it is my firm resolution either to bury myself beneath the ruins of this bridge, or by means of this bridge to pass into your city."

The certainty of their danger now awakened the activity of the confederates, and it was no fault of theirs, if the first part of the Prince's vow was not fulfilled. He had long beheld with anxiety the preparations which had been made in

† Strad. 567. 571.—Meteren. 492. 494.—Thuan. lii 44. 45.

Zealand for the relief of the town. He saw clearly that it was from that quarter that he had most to apprehend, and that, with all his works, he would scarcely be able to make head against the united power of the fleets of Zealand and Antwerp, if they should attack him at the same time, and at the proper moment. For a time, the delays of the Admiral of Zealand, which he had laboured by every means in his power to prolong, had been his security ; but now the pressing necessity of relief expedited their preparations ; and, without waiting for the Admiral, the States despatched Count Justin Von Nassau, with as many vessels as they could collect, to the assistance of the besieged. This fleet anchored before Fort Liefkenshoek, which was in possession of the enemy ; and, supported by some ships from the opposite Fort of Lillo, battered it so successfully, that the walls were shortly overthrown, and the fort taken by storm. The Walloons, who formed the garrison, displayed little of that firmness which might have been expected from the soldiers of the Prince of Parma : they shamefully abandoned the fortress to the enemy, who were soon in possession of the whole island of Doel, with the forts and batteries it contained. The loss of these places, (which, however, were soon retaken,) affected the Prince of Parma so deeply, that he tried the officers by a Court Martial, and the more guilty among them were beheaded. In the meantime, this bold acquisition opened to the Zealanders a free passage to the bridge ; and after concerting with the inhabitants of Antwerp, the period for attempting a decisive attack upon the bridge was

fixed. * It was determined, that while the Antwerp-ers should endeavour to blow up the bridge, by machines which they had already prepared, the Zealand fleet, with a sufficient stock of provisions, should be at hand, and ready to sail towards the town, through the opening made by the explosion.

For, while the Prince of Parma was engaged in the erection of his bridge, an engineer, within the walls of Antwerp, was already preparing materials for its destruction. Frederick Gianibelli was the name of the man whom Fate had destined to be the Archimedes of the city, and to exert in its defence the same ingenuity, with the same want of success. He was born in Mantua, and had visited Madrid, for the purpose, as was reported, of offering his services to Philip in the war of the Netherlands.^o But, wearied with expectation, the offended artist left the Court, with the determination of convincing the Spanish monarch, in the most effectual manner, of the value of those services which he had so little known how to estimate. He had recourse to Elizabeth, Queen of England, the declared enemy of Spain, who, after witnessing some proofs of his art, despatched him to Antwerp. In this city he took up his abode, and in the present extremity devoted to its defence all his skill, his energy, and his zeal. †

As soon as he learned that the project of erecting the bridge was seriously contemplated, and that the work was approaching its completion, he requested of the magistrates two large vessels,

* Strad. 573. 574. Meteren, 495.

† Meteren, 495.—Strad. 574.

from one hundred and fifty to five hundred tons burden, in which he proposed to lay mines. He also demanded fifty boats, which, being fastened together with chains and cables, and armed with axes, might be put in motion with the ebbing of the tide ; and, in order to complete the destruction which the fire-ships had begun, might be directed in a wedge-like form against the bridge. But he had to deal with men who were completely incapable of comprehending an idea of an extraordinary nature, and who, even where the safety of their country was at stake, could never forget the calculating habits of commerce. His plan was found too expensive ; and it was with difficulty, at last, that two smaller vessels, of seventy or eighty tons, and a quantity of boats, were allowed him.

With these two vessels, one of which he called the *Fortune*, the other the *Hope*, he proceeded thus :—He erected within the hold a hollow chamber of free-stone, five feet in breadth, four and a half in height, and forty in length. This chamber was filled with sixty hundred weight of the finest gunpowder of his own invention, and covered with large slabs and millstones, as heavily as the vessel would bear. Above these was erected a building of similar stones, which converged towards a point, and rose six feet above the deck of the vessel. The building was filled with iron chains and hatchets, metal and stone bullets, nails, knives, and other instruments of destruction ; while the other parts of the vessels, which were not occupied by the powder chamber, were also filled with stones, and the whole covered with planks. Several openings were left in the chamber, for the

admission of the trains by which it was to be kindled. A piece of machinery was also placed in the chambers, which, after a certain period, struck out sparks, so as to explode the vessels, supposing the trains to give way. To mislead the enemy into the belief that these machines were intended only to set the bridge on fire, a firework was fixed upon the top, formed of sulphur and pitch, and constructed so as to burn for an hour. Still farther, to distract the attention of the enemy from the real seat of danger, he prepared thirty-two schuyts, (or small flat-bottomed boats), containing merely fireworks, and constructed with no other intention than that of deceiving the enemy. These fire-ships were to be despatched towards the bridge in four separate squadrons, at the distance of half an hour from each other, and to keep the enemy engaged for two whole hours ; so that, exhausted by firing and fruitless expectation, they might be induced to relax their vigilance, when the real fire-ships arrived. He prepared also some other ships, in which powder was concealed, to destroy the floating-work before the bridge, and to make way for the larger vessels. By this skirmish of the outposts, he hoped to engage the enemy's attention in that direction,—to allure them forward, and thus to expose them to the full and deadly operation of his mines. †

The night betwixt the fourth and fifth of April was fixed on for the execution of this great undertaking. Some dark rumours of the intended attempt had spread through the Spanish camp, particularly after several divers from Antwerp

† Thuan. iii. 46.—Strad. 574, 575.—Meteren, 596.

had been discovered endeavouring to cut the cables of the vessels. A serious attack, therefore, was expected; they were mistaken only as to its nature, expecting to combat with men, rather than with the elements. With this view the prince caused the guards along the whole bank to be doubled, and moved the greater part of his troops to the neighbourhood of the bridge, where he himself took his station,—thus exposing himself the more to danger, the more he laboured to avert it. Scarcely was it dark when three flaming vessels were seen floating downwards from the town, then three others, and afterwards three more. The whole Spanish camp were called to arms, and the bridge, along its whole length, crowded with soldiers. Meantime the number of the fire-ships increased, as they floated, sometimes in pairs, sometimes three together down the stream, being at first guided by mariners on board. But the Admiral of the Antwerp fleet, Jacob Jacobson, had either purposely, or from negligence, so arranged matters, that the four squadrons were allowed to follow each other at too short intervals, while the two large fire-ships followed too fast upon the rest, and thus the whole order of the attack was destroyed.

The moment approached, and the darkness of the night heightened the effect of the extraordinary scene. As far as the eye could follow the course of the stream, all was fire, the fire-ships burning as fiercely as if the vessels themselves had been actually in flames. All around the surface of the river shone in light,—the dykes and batteries along the bank, the colours, weapons, and armour of the soldiers, who lined the river-

side, as well as the bridge, were clearly distinguishable by its glare. With mingled feelings of pleasure and of terror, the soldiers contemplated this strange spectacle, which seemed at first rather to resemble some triumphant fete, than a hostile preparation, but which filled the mind with a strange and indescribable fear, by the contrast between its outward appearance and its real purpose. When this burning fleet approached within about two thousand paces of the bridge, the workmen kindled their matches, impelled the two larger vessels, containing the mines, into the very middle of the stream, and, abandoning the rest to the guidance of the waves, moved off as rapidly as possible, in boats which had been prepared for the purpose.‡

Their course, however, was broken; the vessels, unguided by any one on board, drove, scattered or single, against the floating work, where they continued hanging, or dashed sideways against the bank. The foremost powder-ships, which had been intended to destroy the floating work, were driven, by the force of a tempest, which sprang up at that moment, towards the Flanders side; and even the great fire-ship, named the *Fortune*, struck the ground before reaching the bridge, killing, in its explosion, several Spanish soldiers in the neighbouring battery. The other, and the larger vessel, named the *Hope*, narrowly escaped a similar fate. The current drove her against the floating work on the Flanders side, where she remained hanging; and had

‡ Strad. 576.

she taken fire at that moment, the effect of the explosion would have been almost entirely lost. But, deceived by the flames which this machine threw out, like the other fire-ships, the enemy conceived it to be merely an ordinary vessel, intended for the purpose of firing the bridge. And as they had seen the other fire-ships extinguished, one after the other, without any farther effect, they forgot their fears, and began to ridicule those hostile preparations which had been announced with so much pomp, and which had come to so pitiful a conclusion. Some of the boldest had thrown themselves into the stream, to inspect the fire-ship more narrowly, and to extinguish it, when it suddenly broke by its weight through the floating work which had repelled it, and drove with terrible force against the bridge. All was instantly in commotion, and the Duke called out to the sailors to keep off the machine with poles, and to extinguish the flames ere they should reach the timbers.

He was standing at that important moment at the farther end of the scaffolding, on the left, where it formed a bastion in the water, and was united to the bridge of ships. By his side stood the Margrave of Rysburg, General of the cavalry, and Governor of the province of Artois, (who had formerly been in the service of the States, but, from a defender of the Republic, had now become her worst enemy), Baron Von Billy, Governor of Friezland, and General of the German regiments, Generals Cajetan and Guasto, with several of his principal officers,—all forgetful of their own danger, and anxious only to avert the general misfortune. At this moment a Spanish ensign approach-

ed the Prince of Parma, and conjured him to retire from a spot where his life was in imminent and visible danger. He repeated his request more pressing, as the Duke paid no attention, and at last, falling at his feet, implored him, in this single instance, to be advised by his servants. While he spoke, he had seized the Duke by the cloak, as if to draw him from the place by force; and he, rather overpowered by the boldness of this man, than convinced by his reasons, began to move, accompanied by Guasto and Cajetan, towards the shore. Scarcely had he time to reach Fort St Maria, at the farther end of the bridge, when an explosion was heard behind him, as if the earth had burst, or the vault of heaven had given way. The Duke, with his whole army fell to the ground as dead, and several minutes elapsed before any one recovered his recollection.

But what a scene appeared when recollection returned! The waters of the Schelde had been divided by the explosion to their lowest depths, and driven like a wall over the mound which opposed them, so that all the fortifications along the bank were inundated to the depth of several feet. The earth shook for three miles round. Nearly the whole of the left scaffolding, against which the fire-ship had been driven, with part of the bridge of ships, had been burst asunder, shattered, and with all who were upon it, masts, cannon, and men, hurled into the air. Even the enormous blocks of stone, which covered the mines, had been blown by the force of the explosion, into the neighbouring fields, so that many of them were afterwards dug up at the distance of a thousand paces from the bridge. Six ships were burned, and

several dashed to pieces. But still more dreadful was the carnage which this murderous engine had made among the soldiers. Five hundred, or, according to some accounts, eight hundred men, fell a sacrifice to the explosion, besides those who escaped with mutilated or injured limbs. The most opposite modes of death were united in that tremendous moment. Some were consumed by the flame of the volcano, others suffocated by the waters of the river, or the poisonous sulphurous vapour; some drowned in the stream; some buried beneath the hail of the falling masses of rock; some pierced with the knives or axes, or shattered with the balls which had sprung from the bowels of the engine: some, who were found dead without any visible injury, must have been killed by the mere agitation of the air. The sight, immediately after the explosion of the mine, was tremendous. Some were seen sticking among the pillars of the bridge, some labouring beneath the masses of stone, some hanging in the sails of the vessels; on every side was heard a heart-piercing cry for help, but every one was too deeply engaged with his own safety, and the call was answered only by an impotent wailing.

Many of the survivors were saved by wonderful accidents. An officer, named Tucci, was lifted like a feather into the air by the whirlwind, suspended for some time aloft, and then dropped into the stream, where he saved himself by swimming. Another was caught up, by the force of the explosion, on the Flanders side, and deposited on that of Brabant, where he rose with merely a slight contusion on the shoulder, and who afterwards described his progress through the air as resembling

that of a body shot from a cannon. The Duke of Parma had never been so near death as at that moment, when the difference of half a minute decided his fate. Scarce had he set foot in Fort St Maria, when he was lifted as by a whirlwind, and struck senseless to the ground by a plank which lighted on his head and shoulder. For some time, indeed, it was believed he had been killed, as several recollected having seen him on the bridge but a few minutes before the deadly explosion. He was found, at last, raising himself up with his hand on his sword, between his conductors, Cajetan and Guasto, and the intelligence restored life to the whole army. But it were vain to attempt to describe his sensations, when he contemplated the wreck which a single moment had caused in the work of so many months. The bridge on which his whole hope rested was torn in pieces, great part of his army destroyed, others maimed and rendered useless for a time; several of his best officers killed, and, as if the present misfortune were not enough, he received at the same moment the painful intelligence that the Marquis of Rysburg, in whom, of all his officers, he reposed the greatest confidence, was no where to be found. The worst still remained behind, namely, that the arrival of the hostile fleets of Antwerp and Lillo was every instant to be expected, while the disabled situation of the army would render it impossible for him to make any resistance. The bridge had been completely separated, and there was nothing to prevent the fleet of Zealand from sailing through: while the confusion of the troops was at the time so great, that it was impossible to issue orders, or to obey them;

some of the corps wanting their officers, many of the officers unable to find their corps, or to discover the place which they had occupied, amidst the universal ruin. All the fortifications, too, on the bank were inundated,—the cannon sunk under water,—and the matches and powder rendered useless. What a moment for the enemy, had they known how to avail themselves of the opportunity! †

It will scarcely be believed, however, that this attempt, which had succeeded so much beyond expectation, was rendered useless to Antwerp, merely—because it was unknown. As soon as the explosion of the mine was heard in the town, St Aldegonde had indeed sent out several vessels towards the bridge, with orders to shoot up fire-balls and burning arrows as soon as they had successfully passed through, and then, with this intelligence, to sail on to Lillo, to put the auxiliary fleet of Zealand into immediate motion. The Admiral of Antwerp, at the same time, received orders, as soon as the signal was given, to set sail instantly and attack the enemy in their first confusion. But although a tempting reward was offered to the sailors who were sent out, they could not be persuaded to venture into the neighbourhood of the enemy, and they returned, without effecting their purpose, with the intelligence, that the bridge remained uninjured, and that the fire-ships had produced no impression. Even the next day no better attempt was made to learn the true state of the bridge; and when they saw that, notwithstanding the favourable wind, no attempt was

† Strada, 577, *seq.*—Meteren, 497—Thuan, III. 47—Gen, Hist. of U. N. 3. 497.

made by the fleet at Lillo, they were confirmed in the belief that the fire-ships had failed. No one reflected that this inactivity of the confederates, which misled the inhabitants of Antwerp, might also keep back the Zealanders at Lillo, as was really the case. So signal a failure could occur only in a government without authority, and without independence, guided by a tumultuous population, whom it ought to have commanded. The more inactive, however, they showed themselves against the enemy, the more their rage seemed inflamed against Gianibelli, whom the enraged populace would willingly have torn to pieces. The engineer was for two days in the most imminent danger, till, on the third morning, a messenger from Lillo, who had swam through under the bridge, brought accounts of the real destruction which had taken place, but at the same time of its complete restoration. ‡

This rapid repairing of the bridge was really a miraculous effort of the Prince of Parma. Scarcely had he recovered from the shock, which seemed to have ruined all his plans, when he foresaw, with admirable presence of mind, all the evil consequences which might ensue. The absence of the hostile fleet at this decisive moment awakened his hopes anew. The wretched condition of the bridge seemed still to be a secret to the enemy; and although it was impossible that the work of many months could be restored in a few hours, much would be gained if he could give to it an appearance of being repaired. All were instantly at work to remove the fragments, to erect

‡ Meteren, 496.

anew the timbers which had been overthrown, to unite those which had been fractured, and to fill up the gaps with ships. The Duke himself assisted in the labour, and his example was followed by all the officers. The common soldiers, animated by the sight, exerted themselves to the utmost; the work was carried on during the whole night amidst the continual noise of trumpets and drums, which were stationed along the whole bridge, to drown the sound of the workmen. At break of day, few traces of the destruction which had taken place during the night were to be seen; and although the bridge was only apparently repaired, its appearance deceived the messengers, and the attack was put off. In the meantime, the Prince contrived to render the repair real, and also to introduce some changes into the structure of the bridge. To protect it from future attacks of a similar kind, a part of the bridge of ships was made moveable, so that it might be removed if necessary, and a free passage opened to the fire-ships. The loss of men which he had sustained, the Prince supplied by means of garrisons from the neighbouring places, and of a German regiment which fortunately joined him at this moment from Ghent. He filled up the places of the officers who were missing, and among these the Spanish ensign, who had saved his life, was not forgotten.*

The inhabitants of Antwerp, on learning the real success of their fire-ships, now applauded their inventor as zealously as they had formerly been inclined to treat him with harshness, and urged him to new attempts. Gianibelli now received the num-

* Strada, 581, *et. seq.*

ber of vessels which he had in vain requested at first. He prepared them in such a manner as to be driven with irresistible force against the bridge ; and the bridge was actually a second time broken through. The wind, however, was then unfavourable to the Zealand fleet, so that it could not advance, and thus the Prince again had time to repair the disaster. Still the Archimedes of Antwerp was not disconcerted by all these failures. He prepared two large vessels, armed with iron hatchets, and similar instruments, in order to break through the bridge by force. But when the moment for launching them came, no one could be found to man them. The engineer was therefore obliged to invent some means of giving to his engines such a direction, as to enable them, without a steersman, to keep the middle of the stream, and not, like the former, to be dashed by the wind against the bank. One of his workmen, a German, hit upon a singular invention ; † he placed a sail under the vessel, so as to be acted upon by the water, as ordinary sails are by the wind, and in such a manner as that the ship should be impelled along by the whole force of the stream. The consequence shewed that his calculation was correct, for the vessel, with her sails thus reversed, not only kept exactly the centre of the current, but drove against the bridge with such impetuosity, that the enemy had no time to open it, and it was actually driven asunder. All these successful attempts, however, were unavailing, being under-

† Dec. II. B. VI. 586.

taken at random, and followed up by no sufficient force. No use was made of another fire-ship, which Gianibelli had prepared after the manner of the first, which had proved so successful, and which he had filled with four thousand pounds weight of powder ; for a new mode of attempting their deliverance had now occurred to the inhabitants of Antwerp.*

Despairing, after so many failures, of being able to open up by force the passage of the river to the fleet, they determined to dispense, if possible, with the river entirely. They remembered the example of the city of Leyden, which, when besieged by the Spainards ten years before, had been saved by a well-managed inundation of the surrounding country, and this example they resolved to imitate. Between Lillo and Stabroek, in the territory of Bergen, a broad and somewhat sloping plain stretches to Antwerp, only protected by numerous dykes and counter-dykes from the irruption of the waters of the Easter Schelde. Nothing more was necessary than to open these dykes, to lay the whole plain under water, and to open a passage for flat-bottomed boats to the very walls of Antwerp. If this attempt should be successful, they might allow the Prince of Parma to interrupt, as he pleased, the passage of the Schelde with his bridge of ships ; they had now created a stream for themselves, which, in the hour of need, would supply the place of the former. This, indeed, was the very plan which the Prince of Orange had recommended in the beginning of the siege, and which St Aldegonde had laboured so

* Meteren, 497.

strenuously to carry into effect, but which had failed, because some of the citizens could not be prevailed upon to sacrifice their property. They now reverted to this last means of deliverance in the present necessity, but circumstances, in the meantime, had materially changed.

The plain is divided by a broad and lofty dyke, which takes its name from the neighbouring castle of Couvenstein, and stretches from the village of Stabroek in Bergen for three miles towards the Schelde, till it joins the great dyke of the Schelde not far from Ordam. Over this dyke it was impossible for ships to pass, even at the highest tide, and it would be in vain, while it stood in the way, to inundate the fields on each side, since it would effectually oppose the passage of the Zealand fleet to the vicinity of Antwerp. The fate of the town therefore depended on the possibility of breaking down part of the dyke; but the Prince of Parma had foreseen this possibility, had taken possession of it at the commencement of the blockade, and spared no means in preparing to maintain it to the utmost. Near the village of Stabroek, Count Mansfeld was encamped with the greater part of the army, and maintained, by means of the counterdyke of Couvenstein, his communication with the bridge, the head-quarters, and the Spanish magazines at Calloo. The army thus formed a continuous line from Stabroek in Brabant to Bevern in Flanders, divided, indeed, but not broken by the Schelde, and which could only be broken by a bloody engagement. Five different batteries had been erected along the dyke at equal distances, and the command of them intrusted to the bravest officers of the army; and, as the Duke of Parma

could not doubt that the whole weight of the war would now be directed hither, he assigned to Count Mansfeld the protection of the bridge, and resolved to defend this important post in person. A new scene of war was now about to take place, and on a totally different theatre. *

The Netherlanders had pierced the great dyke which follows the Brabant side of the Schelde, at different places above and below Lillo, and where green fields had formerly been seen, a new element was now displayed, studded with masts and vessels. A Zealand fleet, under Count Hohenlohe, sailed into the inundated fields, and made repeated movements against the dyke of Couvenstein, without attempting a serious attack; while another appeared in the Schelde, threatening sometimes one side, sometimes the other, with a landing, or seemingly meditating an attack upon the bridge. The enemy were thus kept in play for several days, and, uncertain where the real attempt was to be made, were exhausted by their prolonged vigilance, and lulled by degrees into security. The inhabitants of Antwerp had promised to Count Hohenlohe to support the attack upon the dyke with a flotilla from the town; three fireworks from the principal tower were to be the signal that the flotilla was on its way. As soon as the expected signals rose over Antwerp, through the darkness of the night, Count Hohenlohe landed five hundred of his troops between two of the enemy's redoubts, who, falling suddenly on the Spanish guards, either surprised them asleep, or overpowered them. In a short time they had ob-

* Strad. 582.—Thuan. III. 46.

tained a firm footing upon the dyke, and were already intending to land the rest, to the number of two thousand, when the Spaniards arrived from the next redoubt, and, assisted by the narrowness of the ground, made a desperate attack upon the crowded Zealanders. The cannon from the neighbouring batteries at the same time opened upon the advancing vessels, so as to render the landing of the remaining troops impossible; and as no prospect of assistance from the town appeared, the Zealanders, after a short conflict, were overpowered, and driven down from the dyke of which they were in possession. The victorious Spaniards hunted them through the water as far as the ships, drowned many of them, and compelled them to retire with great loss. Count Hohenlohe laid the blame of this defeat upon the inhabitants of Antwerp, who had deceived him by a false signal, and, in fact, it was entirely owing to the want of co-operation in their respective plans that this attempt was unsuccessful.*

It was at last resolved to make a concerted attempt with their united forces upon the enemy, and by a desperate attack, both on the dyke and the bridge, to put an end to the blockade at once. The 16th of May 1585 was fixed on for carrying the attempt into execution, and every thing was done on both sides to render its results decisive. The force of the Hollanders and Zealanders, united to that of Antwerp, exceeded two hundred ships, to man which, they had stripped the town

* Strad. 583.—Meteren. 498.

and citadel, and with this force they determined to assault the dyke of Couvenstein on both sides. The bridge was at the same time to be attacked by new engines of Gianibelli's invention, and the Duke of Parma thus prevented from assisting the defenders of the dyke.†

Alexander, informed of the danger that threatened him, spared nothing on his side to meet it with energy. Immediately after the capture of the dyke, he had ordered redoubts to be built upon it, at five different places, and given the command of these to the most experienced officers of his army. The first, named the Cross Battery, was erected at the place where the dyke of Couvenstein sinks into the great wall of the Schelde, and forms with it the figure of a cross; and the defence of this fort was intrusted to the Spanish General Mondragone. A thousand paces farther on, and in the neighbourhood of the Castle of Couvenstein, was placed Fort St Jacob, commanded by Camillo di Monte. At an equal distance from this, lay Fort St George, and a thousand paces farther the Pile Battery, under the command of Gamboa, so called from the piles on which it was erected. At the farthest end of the dyke, not far from Stabroek, lay a fifth battery, of which Count Mansfeld and an Italian named Capizucchi, were commanders. All these forts the Prince had lately strengthened with artillery and men, besides erecting piles on both sides of the dyke, and along its whole length, both to give stability to the wall itself,

† Strada 584.—Metern, 498.

and to render more laborious the efforts of the pioneers to cut it through.*

Early on the morning of the 16th of May the whole force was in motion. With break of day four fire-ships advanced from Lillo along the inundation, which so terrified the sentinels upon the dyke, who recollected the terrible consequences of the former explosion, that they hastened to take refuge in the neighbouring fort. This was exactly what the enemy had calculated upon. Within these vessels, which appeared to be fire-ships, but which in reality were not so, soldiers were concealed, who immediately landed, and succeeded in mounting the dyke, at the undefended spot between Fort St George and the Pile Battery. Immediately after, appeared the Zealand fleet with numerous ships of war, provision-ships, and a crowd of smaller boats, loaded with large sacks of earth, wool, fascines, and gabions, to erect breast-works where they might be necessary. The ships of war were furnished with a strong train of artillery, and numerous and brave crews, accompanied by a whole army of pioneers, to break down the dyke as soon as it should be in their possession.†

Scarcely had the Zealanders begun to mount the dyke on one side, when the fleet of Antwerp approached from Osterveel and attacked it on the other. A high breast-work was speedily erected between the two nearest of the enemy's redoubts, so as to separate them from each other, and at the same time, to protect the pioneers. These, to the number of more than five hundred,

* Snod. 582, 584.

† Snod. 587.—Materen, 198.—Thuan, 3. 48.

immediately commenced their operations on the dyke with their spades, and laboured so assiduously, that hopes were entertained that the two seas would very shortly be united. In the meantime, however, the Spaniards had advanced from the neighbouring batteries, and commenced a bold attack upon the Netherlanders, while the cannon of Fort St George played without obstruction upon their fleet. The Zealanders had drawn a strong line around their pioneers, to prevent the enemy from interrupting their operations ; and amidst the alarm of battle, exposed to a shower of bullets, often up to the breast in water, among the dying and the dead, the pioneers continued their labour, urged to the utmost exertion by the merchants, who waited with impatience to see the dyke opened, and their ships in safety. The importance of the result, which depended, perhaps entirely, on their exertions, seemed itself to inspire these common labourers with heroic courage. Attending only to the labour of their hands, they neither heard nor saw the death that surrounded them ; and still, as the foremost ranks fell, those behind pressed forward to supply their place. Their operations were much impeded by the piles which had been driven along the dyke, but still more by the attack of the Spaniards, who burst with desperate courage through the enemy, stabbing the pioneers in their excavations where they stood, and closing with their dead bodies the breaches which had been made by the living. But at last, most of their officers being either killed or wounded, the number of the enemy still increasing, and fresh pioneers advancing to supply the place of those who had fallen, the courage of these brave

troops began to give way, and they deemed it advisable to retreat to their batteries. The Zealanders and Antwerpens now saw themselves masters of the whole of that part of the dyke which lies between Fort St George and the Pile Battery. As it would, however, have occupied too much time to wait till the dyke was completely broken through, a Zealand vessel was rapidly unloaded, and its cargo transported into one of the Antwerp vessels with which Count Hohenlohe immediately sailed in triumph to Antwerp. The sight of the provisions filled the anxious city with the most flattering hopes, and as if the victory had been already complete, they gave themselves up immediately to boisterous rejoicing. The bells were rung, the cannon fired, and the inhabitants, transported with their unexpected success, hurried to the Osterweel gate, to greet the arrival of the provision-ships, which were thought to be at hand. *

In truth, the fortune of the besieged had never appeared so favourable as at that moment. The enemy, discouraged and exhausted, had thrown themselves into their batteries, and, far from being able to dispute with the conquerors the possession of the captured forts, they saw themselves besieged even in their places of refuge. Some companies of Scots, under the command of their brave Colonel, Balfour, attacked the battery of Fort St George, which had been reinforced by Camillo di Monte, who, not without great loss, had advanced to its assistance from St Jacob. The Pile Battery was in a still worse condition, being strongly attacked by the ships, and threatening every moment

* Strad. 589.—Meteren, 498.

to fall in pieces. Gamboa, who commanded, lay wounded within, and artillery was unfortunately wanting to keep at a distance the hostile fleet. The wall, too, which the Zealanders had erected between it and Fort St George, cut off all prospect of assistance from the Schelde. Had the enemy taken advantage of this exhaustion and inactivity on the part of the Spaniards to proceed with activity and steadiness in the demolition of the dyke, there can be no doubt that they would have succeeded in opening a passage, and thus put an end to the whole blockade; but the same inattention to consequences was visible here which had marked the conduct of the Antwerpers during the whole progress of the siege.

The activity with which they had commenced their labours seemed to decline in proportion as their success appeared more decided. They soon began to find it too laborious and tedious a matter to demolish the dyke; and it was deemed more advisable to place the cargoes of the large ships in smaller vessels, which might be despatched towards the town with the rising tide. St Aldegonde and Hohenlohe, instead of remaining to animate the workmen by their personal presence, left the scene of action at the decisive moment, to sail with a provision ship to the city, there to receive from their countrymen the favours which they thought were due to their wisdom and bravery. *

While this hard-fought contest had taken place on both sides of the dyke, the bridge upon the Schelde had been attacked with new machines

* Meteren, 494.

from Antwerp, in order to give employment to the vigilance of the Prince in that quarter. But the sound of the firing from the dyke soon apprised him of what was going on there, and he hastened, as soon as he saw the bridge in safety, to reinforce the troops upon the dyke. Accompanied by two hundred Spanish pikemen, he flew to the place of attack, and appeared upon the scene just in time to save his troops from total destruction. He rapidly placed some cannon he had brought with him in the two nearest batteries, and from thence commenced a vigorous fire upon the enemy's ships. He placed himself at the head of his troops, and with his sword in one hand, and a shield in the other, led them against the foe. The news of his arrival, which soon spread from one end of the dyke to the other, reanimated the drooping spirits of his troops, and the contest, which the nature of the field of battle rendered more murderous, was resumed with new energy. Upon the narrow top of the dyke, which in many places did not exceed nine paces in breadth, five thousand combatants were engaged ; within this narrow space, the power of both parties was concentrated ; upon its possession depended the whole fate of the blockade. With the Antwerpers, the last bulwark of their city was at stake—with the Spaniards, the whole issue of their enterprise ; and both parties fought with that courage which nothing but desperation can inspire. From both extremities of the dyke the current of war streamed towards the middle, where the Zealanders and Antwerpers had the advantage, and where their whole strength was collected. From Stabroek, the Italians and Spaniards pressed forward, contending

with each other in bravery on this occasion: from the Schelde, the Walloons and Spaniards, with their general at their head. While the former attempted to relieve the Pile-Battery, which was strongly pressed by the enemy both by sea and land, the latter charged with irresistible impetuosity upon the breastwork which they had erected between Fort St George and the Pile-Battery. Here the flower of the Netherlands fought behind the shelter of a strong wall, and covered by the cannon of both fleets. The Duke was already preparing with his small force to attack this wall, when he received intelligence that the Italians and Spaniards, under Capizucchi and Aguila, had carried the Pile-Battery by storm, and were advancing on the other side against the hostile breastwork. Before this last defence the strength of both armies was now collected, and on both sides every effort was made, either to carry or to defend the position. The Netherlands leaped ashore from their vessels, that they might not remain idle spectators of the contest. Alexander attacked the breast-work on one side, Count Mansfeld on the other; five assaults were made and repelled. The Netherlands, in this decisive moment, excelled all their former efforts; never, in the whole course of the war, had they fought with so much firmness. The Scots and English, in particular, by their brave defence, baffled the efforts of the enemy. At last, when none would venture an assault in the quarter where the Scots fought, the Duke threw himself, with a javelin in his hand, into the water, which rose to his breast, to show his troops the example. After a tedious and exhausting conflict, the troops under Mansfeld succeeded, by the

aid of their pikes and halbards, in effecting a breach in the breast-work, while others mounted on the shoulders of their comrades, to gain the top of the wall. Bartholomew Toralva, a Spanish captain, was the first who was seen above the wall; and almost at the same instant, the Italian Capizucchi appeared upon the edge of the breast-work, and thus the contest of bravery was decided with equal honour to both nations. It is worthy of remark, how the Prince of Parma, who had been made the umpire in this contest, humoured this delicacy of feeling, in points of honour, among his troops. He embraced Capizucchi before the eyes of the troops, and publicly admitted, that it was to the bravery of this officer, in particular, that the capture of the breast-work was owing. The Spanish captain, Toralva, who was severely wounded, he ordered to be conveyed to his own quarters at Stabroek, to be placed in his own bed, and covered with the same cloak which he had worn the day before the action. †

After the breast-work was carried, the contest no longer remained doubtful. The troops of Holland and Zealand, who had landed to take a part in the contest, lost courage at once, when they looked around them, and saw the ships, their last place of refuge, retiring from the shore. The flood had now began to ebb, and the leaders of the fleet, afraid of remaining too near the shore with their heavy vessels, and thus, in the event of the unsuccessful issue of the contest, becoming a prey to the enemy, retired from the dyke, and endea-

† Strad. 593.

voured to gain the open sea. No sooner did Alexander perceive this, than he pointed out to his troops the flying ships, and animated them at once to put an end to an enemy who had abandoned himself. The auxiliaries from Holland were the first that gave way, and the Zealanders soon followed their example. They precipitated themselves from the dyke, endeavouring to gain their ships by wading or swimming; but from the disorderly nature of their flight, they impeded each other, and fell in heaps beneath the sword of the victorious pursuers. Even at the ships many of them perished, each endeavouring to get before the other, and several vessels sinking under the weight of those who threw themselves into them. The Antwerpens, who fought for their freedom, their homes, and their religious belief, were the last to give way; but their very perseverance rendered their fate more unfortunate. Many of their ships were overtaken by the ebbing of the flood, and ran aground, so that they lay within the range of the enemy's cannon, and were destroyed, with all their crews. The flying crowds endeavoured, by swimming, to gain the other vessels which had got beyond the reach of the ebb; but such was the rage and boldness of the Spaniards, that they swam after the fugitives with their swords between their teeth, and dragged many of them even from the ships. The victory of the King's troops was complete, though bloody. About eight hundred of the Spaniards, and several thousand of the Netherlanders (not including those who were drowned) remained upon the spot; and upon both sides many of the principal nobility perished. More than thirty ships, with their whole cargoes of pro-

visions intended for Antwerp, with a hundred and fifty cannon, and other warlike stores, fell into the hands of the conquerors. The dyke, the possession of which had been so dearly obtained, was pierced in thirteen different places, and the bodies of its defenders were now employed to fill up the openings. The next day, a vessel of uncommon size, and singular construction, fell into the hands of the King's troops, which formed a sort of floating fortress, and was intended to have been employed against the dyke of Couvenstein. The inhabitants of Antwerp had prepared it at an immense expense, at the very time they rejected the plans of the engineer, Gianibelli, on account of their expensive nature, and had given to this ridiculous and monstrous engine the name of "The End of the War," an appellation which was afterwards exchanged for the more appropriate one of "Money Lost." When this ship was launched, it was found, as had been foreseen by every intelligent person, that it could not be guided, on account of its extravagant size, and scarcely could be floated even by the highest tide. With great difficulty it was brought down as far as Ordam, where it was left aground by the ebbing of the tide, and fell into the hands of the enemy. †

The attack upon the dyke of Couvenstein was the last attempt made for the relief of Antwerp. From this time the courage of the besieged failed them, and the magistracy of the town endeavoured in vain to raise the spirits of the populace, upon whom the present necessity more peculiarly pressed, by distant hopes. Until now, they had

† Thuan, 3, 49—Meteren, 485—Strad. 597.

always obtained bread, though at a dear rate; but by degrees the provisions drew towards a close, and famine visibly approached. They still had hopes of being able to maintain the town long enough to allow them to reap the corn which grew between the outer works and the town, and which was already in full ear; but ere that time arrived, the enemy were in possession of all the external defences of the town, and had appropriated the whole harvest to themselves. At last, the neighbouring confederate town of Mechlin fell into the enemy's hands, and with it vanished their last hope of succour from Brabant. As there was no longer any means of increasing the stock of provisions, the only course left was to diminish the number of the consumers. All persons incapable of assisting, all strangers, and even women and children, must have been banished from the town; but this project was too revolting to humanity to be carried into effect. Another plan, that of driving out the Catholic inhabitants, inflamed them so much, that it almost led to an open mutiny. And thus St Aldegonde saw himself compelled to yield to the stormy impatience of the populace; and on the 17th August, 1585, to make proposals to the Duke of Parma for the surrender of the town. †

† Meteren, 500—Strad. 600, *et seq.*—Thuan. III. 50—Univ. Hist. Unit. Netherlands, 3 400.

END OF VOLUME ~~SM~~ **NI**



